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Five great Oxford leaders

No.

FIVE GREAT OXFORD LEADERS

FIVE GREAT OXFORD LEADERS

KEBLE, NEWMAN, PUSEY, LIDDON AND CHURCH

BY THE
REV. AUG. B. DONALDSON, M.A.
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RIVINGTONS
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PREFACE

THIS volume had its origin in a lecture on "John Keble and the Oxford Movement," prepared for delivery at a meeting of the Church Society of Frome, Somerset, in the spring of 1899, and repeated later at a similar gathering in the Chapter House, Bristol Cathedral. It was soon afterwards suggested to the author to write short lives of the five great men whose names hold so prominent a place in the history of the Oxford Movement. The book obviously has no claim to originality. The two admirable biographies of Keble by Sir John Coleridge and the present Warden of Keble have practically covered the ground of the whole life of the author of the "Christian Year." The "Apologia," his "Life and Letters," edited by his sister,

Mrs. Mozley, and Mr. W. H. Hutton's excellent "Life," supply ample material in the case of Newman. The full and deeply interesting account of Dr. Pusey's life and work, contained in the four volumes begun by Dr. Liddon and continued by others, renders any other work of the kind almost impossible except as an abridgment or summary. The same may be said of the fascinating account given of Dean Church in the "Life and Letters," by his daughter. Of Dr. Liddon no biography has as yet been published. In the present volume his own works have been chiefly drawn upon to tell the story of his work and teaching.

In Dr. Pusey's case alone has the writer attempted anything like a detailed account of the sequence of events. It was thought desirable to do this in one only of the five "Lives," and that the largest and fullest, that as far as possible needless repetition might be avoided.

As this book cannot claim to be original, neither is it desired to put it forth as a contribution

to controversy. Nevertheless the writer has not thought it his duty in any way to disguise his sympathy with the general principles of that great Movement, which has so wonderfully transformed for the better that great Church of England, which he, in common with those of whom he has attempted to give some account, reverently loves to call his "spiritual Mother."

AUG. B. DONALDSON.

TRURO, *Advent*, 1899.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

John Keble born, St. Mark's Day, April 24th, 1792.
E. B. Pusey born, August 22nd, 1800.
„ baptized, Holy Cross Day, September 14th, 1800.
J. H. Newman born, February 21st, 1801.
Isaac Williams born, December 12th, 1802.
Hurrell Froude born, Lady Day, March 25th, 1803.
Keble, Fellow of Oriel, 1811.
R. W. Church born, April 25th, 1815.
Newman, Fellow of Oriel, 1822.
Pusey, Fellow of Oriel, 1823.
Froude, Fellow of Oriel, 1826.
"Christian Year" published, 1827.
Newman, Vicar of St. Mary's, 1828.
Hawkins, Provost of Oriel, 1828.
Pusey, Hebrew Professor, 1828.
H. P. Liddon born, 1829.
Reform Bill passed, 1832.
Newman and Froude's Mediterranean Voyage, December, 1832.
"Lead! Kindly Light!" 1833.
Irish Bishoprics suppressed, 1833.
Keble's "Assize Sermon," July 14th, 1833.
Hadleigh Meeting, July 26th, 1833.
First "Tract for the Times," September 9th, 1833.
Pusey joins the Movement, 1834.

Pusey's Tract on Baptism, 1835.
Library of the Fathers begun, 1836.
Hurrell Froude died, February 28th, 1836.
Queen's Accession, June 20th, 1837.
Additional Curates' Society founded, 1837.
"Froude's Remains" published, 1838.
Church, Fellow of Oriel, 1838.
Tract XC., 1841.
Colonial Bishoprics' Fund founded, 1841.
Newman resigns St. Mary's, 1843.
Pusey's Sermon condemned, 1843.
Ward's "Ideal Church," 1844.
The Proctors' Veto, February 13th, 1845.
S. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, 1845.
Newman's Secession, October 9th, 1845.
St. Saviour's, Leeds, consecrated, October 28th, 1845.
"The Guardian" started, January, 1846.
"Lyra Innocentium" published, 1846.
Gorham Judgment, March 8th, 1850.
Manning, Maskell, Allies secede, 1850.
Papal Aggression, September 24th, 1850.
The Durham Letter, 1850.
First University Commission, 1850.
Revival of Convocation, November 5th, 1852.
Pusey's Sermon on the Holy Eucharist, 1853.
R. J. Wilberforce secedes, 1853.
Liddon, Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon, 1854.
The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the B.V.M. proclaimed, 1854.
Knightsbridge Ritual Case, 1856.
Archdeacon Denison's Trial ended, 1858.
Bishop Forbes' Trial ended, 1860.
"Essays and Reviews" published, 1860.

"Apologia" published, 1864.
"Eirenicon" published, 1865.
The Meeting at Hursley, October 9th, 1865.
Liddon's Bampton Lectures, 1866.
Keble died, 1866.
First Lambeth Conference, 1867.
Mackonochie Prosecution begins, 1867.
Keble College founded, 1868.
The Vatican Council: Papal Infallibility proclaimed, 1870.
Liddon, Canon of St. Paul's, 1870.
Purchas Judgment, January, 1871.
Church, Dean of St. Paul's, October, 1871.
Athanasian Creed Controversy ended, October, 1871.
Bennett Judgment, 1872.
Bishop Wilberforce died, July 19th, 1873.
Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874.
Second University Commission, 1877.
Rev. A. Tooth imprisoned, 1877.
Second Lambeth Conference, 1878.
Newman made Cardinal, 1879.
Rev. S. F. Green imprisoned, 1881.
Pusey died, September 16th, 1882.
Truro Cathedral consecrated, November 3rd, 1887.
Third Lambeth Conference, 1888.
Newman died, August 11th, 1890.
Liddon died, September 9th, 1890.
Lincoln Judgment, November 21st, 1890.
Church died, December 9th, 1890.

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JOHN KEBLE

I.

It is little more than a truism to say that every movement, social, political and religious, in the history of mankind, has had its personal leader. Events are centred and focussed round individual personalities. The hour may arrive, but the man is also needed. Both factors are essential. No single man can hope to move or influence his age, his country, his Church without the help of predisposing causes. Every movement will fail to take shape or to grow beyond incoherent struggles unless there appear a living personal leader, who shall voice, lead and organize it. The great careers and splendid achievements of Alexander, Cæsar or Napoleon were possible because their age was wearied with the selfish struggles of a corrupt nobility, or with the unwieldy machinery of feudalism, or the effete tyranny of unworthy successors of ancient empires. Great religious movements may have self-denying leaders who may achieve partial and temporary success, like Savonarola, if the conditions of the age be unsympathetic, or vast and far-reaching results, if there be such predisposing circumstances as favoured St. Francis of Assisi in his revival of spiritual religion, or Luther when the corruptions of the Church and the onward wave of the new learning lent their aid to his vigorous personality.

So with the great Church Movement of our century, whether we give it the name of the Oxford, the Tractarian, or Catholic revival, there were not only ready, able and enthusiastic leaders, but causes favourable to its rise and progress. THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

First we may regard it as a great reaction from the growing and deadening blight of a false liberalism: a protest against Erastian ideas of the office and very being of the Church. It was an endeavour to stem the tide of a fatal latitudinarianism that, outside the Church, threatened to break down her defences, and, from within, to betray her very citadel. It was a fresh attempt to satisfy the longings of earnest men and women for a religion less narrow than the dominant evangelicalism of the day. Something nobler and less selfish was needed, so men felt, than the search for and possession of mere personal salvation; some corporate life, in spiritual as well as in social matters, appeared to be essential, if the highest aspects of Christianity were to be realized and its best ideals reached. Above all, some real and strong-voiced authority, to guide men to the truth, was looked for amid the jarring discord of private opinions and unrestrained criticism. A REACTION.

Secondly, it was something more than a reaction, it was a new growth, and a revival of long dormant principles. There had been rising in England, from various quarters, a fresh life of culture and art. Men had grown dissatisfied with the old commonplaces in poetry, painting and architecture. Poetry had with Wordsworth taken nature and religion into alliance, and had planted the seeds of a mystic spirituality. Walter A REVIVAL.

Scott had recovered juster views of the Church of the past; and, with others, had shown that the Middle Ages were not altogether times of unmitigated darkness and corruption. Added to this, opportunities for foreign travel, which had increased enormously since the end of the great wars with France, had removed not a little of the narrow and insular prejudice that declined to see anything good in the religion and worship of Continental Churches.

ENGLISH NOT ROMAN.

But, in the third place, it would be wrong to suppose that the Movement was an imported foreign exotic. For, as Dean Church has said in his "History of the Oxford Movement," "Anglicanism itself was not Roman; friends and foes said it was not, to reproach as well as to defend it. It was not Roman in Dr. Pusey, though he was not afraid to acknowledge what was good in Rome. It was not Roman in Mr. Keble and his friends, Dr. Moberly of Winchester and the Barters. It was not Roman in Mr. Isaac Williams, Mr. Copeland, and Mr. Woodgate, each of them a centre of influence in Oxford and the country. It was not Roman in the devoted Charles Marriott, or in Isaac Williams's able and learned pupil, Mr. Arthur Haddan. It was not Roman in Mr. James Mozley, after Mr. Newman, the most forcible and impressive of the Oxford writers."[1] Dr. Pusey has said, "When we were awakened, the revival (as I have said publicly) was wholly from within. We did not open a Romish book, we did not think of them, . . . we had all which we wanted within our own Church. We had the whole range of Christian

[1] "Oxford Movement," p. 337.

doctrine, and did not look beyond except to the Fathers to whom our Church sent us."[1]

Nor must it be forgotten that, with some notable exceptions, the prominent leaders of the Oxford Movement, both at its beginning and in its later developments, have remained loyal to the English Church. The results of the teaching of the Tracts have not been to carry Anglicans inevitably to Rome.

"It seems to be a popular notion," says Isaac Williams, "that the original writers of the Tracts have generally joined the Church of Rome, and that, therefore, that Movement of itself has been so far a failure; but this is very far from being the case, for it is a very remarkable circumstance, and one which I find very much strikes every one to whom I have mentioned it, that, out of all the writers in the 'Tracts for the Times,' one only has joined the Church of Rome."[2]

Quite recently it has been said with great justice—"Speaking broadly, I believe the High Church Party *does* aim at making the Church of England Catholic, and *does not* aim at making it Roman; or rather, its position is really stronger than this. An instructed High Churchman would not allow that he was trying to make the Church of England more Catholic, but only that he was trying to assert those elements of Catholicity which were inherent, though perhaps latent, in its constitution."[3]

Whence came its germ and origin? The true answer

[1] Dr. Pusey, "Spiritual Letters," p. 239.

[2] "Isaac Williams's Autobiography," pp. 119, 120.

[3] Professor W. Sanday, "The Catholic Movement and the Archbishops' Decision," p. 5.

is, From the old English Catholic Party which had never ceased to exist in the Anglican Church from the days of Archbishop Parker onwards. Its fathers were Hooker, and Andrewes, and Laud, and Cosin. It was in the seventeenth century cheered by the poetry of George Herbert and the piety of Ken: in the eighteenth, by the primitive holiness of Bishop Wilson, and the strong intellect of Bishop Butler, who were not solitary instances, but types of Anglican Churchmanship. For it is a very false estimate of the English Church that supposes that all its bishops were latitudinarian courtiers, and all its country clergy sporting parsons, through the dark days of Hanoverian Erastianism. The sober teaching of the Prayer-book and the Catholic truths concerning the Sacraments and the Ministry lived on, and never wanted teachers and witnesses. But how sorely there was needed some great and serious movement of awakening and revival, the following description of the state of the Anglican Church will show: "The Church of England had been passing through a long period of deep and chronic religious lethargy. For many years, perhaps for some generations, Christendom might have been challenged to show either then or from any former age, a clergy (with exceptions) so secular and lax, or congregations so cold, irreverent, and indevout. The process of awakening had indeed begun many years before; but a very long time is required to stir up effectually a torpid body whose dimensions overspread a great country. Active piety and zeal among the clergy, and yet more among the laity, had been in a great degree confined within the

THE CHURCH'S LETHARGY.

narrow limits of a party, which, however meritorious in its work, presented in the main phenomena of transition, and laid but little hold on the higher intellect and cultivation of the country. The churches and worship bore in general too conclusive testimony to a frozen indifference. No effort had been made either to overtake the religious destitution of the multitudes at home, or to follow the numerous children of the Church, migrating into distant lands, with any due provision for their spiritual wants. The richer benefices were very commonly regarded as a suitable provision for such members of the higher families as were least fit to push their way in any profession requiring thought or labour. The abuses of plurality and non-residence were at a height, which, if not proved by statistical returns, it would have been scarcely possible to believe. In the greatest public school of the country (and I presume it may be taken as a sample of the rest) the actual teaching of Christianity was all but dead, though happily none of its forms had been surrendered. It was a retrospect, full of gloom; and with all our Romanizing and all our rationalizing, what men of sense would wish to go back upon those dreary times?

'*Domos ditis vacuas, et inania regna?*'"

. . . "But between 1831 and 1840, the transformation which had previously begun made a progress altogether marvellous. Much was due, without doubt, to the earnest labours of individuals. Such men as Bishop Blomfield on the Bench, and Dr. Hook in the parish (and I name them only as illustrious examples), who

had long since been toiling with a patient but dauntless energy, began, as it were, to get the upper hand. But causes of deep and general operation were also widely at work. As the French Revolution had done much to renovate Christian belief on the Continent, so the Church of England was less violently, but pretty sharply roused by the political events which arrived in a rattling succession—in 1828 the repeal of the Test Act, in 1829 the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, in 1831–2 the agony and triumph of Reform, in 1833 the Church Temporalities Act for Ireland. There was now a general uprising of religious energy in the Church. Her condition before 1830 could not possibly have borne the scrutinizing eye which for thirty years past has been turned upon our institutions. Her rank corruptions must have called down the avenging arm. But it was arrested just in time."[1] How was the work of restoration inspired and begun?

THE AUTHOR OF THE MOVEMENT.

In a quiet country parish in Gloucestershire, before the close of the eighteenth century, John Keble was born. His father was a representative of the English country clergyman that has made the Anglican Church famous. A cultured home, a scholarly training, and the practice of "Prayer-book piety" were the environments of his early days. He saw with his own eyes that pattern of pastoral work and faithful obedience to the Church of his forefathers, which was to be the ideal portrayed in his writings, and carried out in his life. The Oxford Movement sprang from that country vicarage. Dean

[1] W. E. Gladstone, "A Chapter of Autobiography."

Burgon, in that most interesting book of his, "Lives of Twelve Good Men," with a very natural partiality for one closely related to himself, and indeed absolutely worthy of all honour and respect, says, "It will become more and more apparent, as we proceed, that if *to any one man* is to be assigned the honour of having originated the great Catholic revival of our times, that man was Hugh James Rose."[1] Certainly his noble character, great attainments and earnest tone, his early public utterances, marked him out as one admirably fitted for leadership in a great movement. Newman himself recognized the debt that the Oxford Movement owed to him when he dedicated the fourth volume of his "Parochial and Plain Sermons" "to the Rev. Hugh James Rose, B.D., Principal of King's College, London, and Domestic Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, when hearts were failing, bade us stir up the gift that was in us, and betake ourselves to our true Mother." But he also recognized that, in spite of his "high and large mind," "cool head and cautious judgment," he was too closely connected with the Conservative party, too much linked with persons in high ecclesiastical authority to work with those who, like Froude and Newman, were able to take a bold and vigorous line because they were "nobodies, with no character to lose, no antecedents to fetter us."[2] Above all, Rose was separated from the "unity of place" so essential to the success of a great movement; for Newman and Froude, and later on Pusey also, felt very rightly the great

[1] "Lives of Twelve Good Men," vol. i., p. 158.
[2] "Apologia," p. 38.

importance of making use of the University of Oxford as the centre of the Movement. "Universities are the natural centres of intellectual movements."[1] Rose himself clearly recognized, just before the celebrated Hadleigh meeting, that Oxford was to be the real centre of the revival so sorely needed in the Church's day of decay and distress. "I get no help whatever from Cambridge; what help could I get equal to Keble, Miller, Palmer, Newman, Froude, Hook, Ogilvie? I love Cambridge with all my heart; but Divinity is not her tower of strength just now."[2] In addition to this, Mr. Rose's state of health, as events showed, precluded him from being able to give that active co-operation in the "coming fight," which was absolutely necessary for anything like leadership.

That John Keble was the real person who actually set the Catholic revival in motion is witnessed by the testimony of all real judges of that Movement. We read in Newman's "Apologia," "The true and primary author of it, as is usual with great motive powers, was out of sight. . . . Need I say that I am speaking of John Keble."[3] Dr. Pusey says the same; and Dean Church confirms his testimony when he writes, "Long before the Oxford Movement was thought of, or had any definite shape, a number of its characteristics had taken a strong hold of the mind of a man of great ability and great seriousness . . . John Keble."[4] Nor

[1] "Apologia," pp. 37–39.

[2] Letter to Joshua Watson. "Lives of Twelve Good Men," vol. i., p. 163.

[3] "Apologia," p. 17.

[4] "Oxford Movement," p. 23.

is it surprising that it should be so, when we remember that Dr. Mozley, whom many deem the greatest thinker since Butler that the Church of England has produced, and Dean Church himself, spent long years in the retirement of country parishes before they were summoned to live and act in the face of the world in defence of the Church. Keble's training under a scholarly father prepared him for his life-work. He was destined to influence Oxford, and therefore had to be a scholar; to touch men's hearts even more than their heads, and therefore to be a poet; to be a spiritual guide to many a troubled conscience, and therefore to learn himself from his spiritual Mother, the Church, the lessons she had to teach. When Catholic doctrines were discussed in his presence, he used to say again and again, "This is just what my father taught and believed." Newman had a very different training in early life, and therefore, while he always said that he was giving shape to what he had learned from Keble, it was never with him as it was with the subject of this sketch, a steady onward development of what had been a possession from the first. This, perhaps, gives the reason why Keble remained steadfast within the Anglican Church, when Newman left her in the midst of the storm and conflict of later days.

II.

EARLY LIFE.

Keble's powers were developed early; he came up to Oxford "a fresh, glad, bright, joyous boy."[1] He was a scholar of Corpus at fifteen; he took his double first, and won the English and Latin Essays at eighteen. He was elected fellow of Oriel, April 20, 1811. So many and such great changes have taken place, both in the University of Oxford and in the various colleges, during the more than eighty years that have passed since that date, that it is not quite easy at the present time to realize what Oriel College then was and continued to be for a good many years after. Sir John Coleridge writes of the college as "that body which even then gave the tone to the intellectual pursuits of the University, and which, within a few years, by the gradual accession of remarkable men, was to acquire name and celebrity far and wide."[2] There was nothing specially to attract in the college itself. It had none of the wealth of architectural splendour, or foundation for musical services that have made Magdalen, New College, and Christ Church such magnificent ornaments to the city and University. There are no picturesque groves, gardens or meadows, or imposing site. The somewhat insignificant buildings, consisting of two rather small quadrangles, stand at the corner of two narrow lanes back from the High Street; dilapidated gables and crumbling walls, and

FELLOW OF ORIEL.

ORIEL COLLEGE.

[1] Dr. Pusey, *Keble College Proceedings*, 1868, p. 43.

[2] "Life of Keble," vol. i., p. 48; see also pp. 77, 78.

decaying statues of the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child and the royal founders; a fairly sized hall; a chapel, small and meagrely furnished; a common room and library in the second quadrangle, of very uninteresting style, make up a homely group, dear, indeed, to many of its sons, but presenting few noticeable features to the tourist or student of architecture. But there is scarcely a single college at Oxford or Cambridge, or elsewhere in the whole world, that has such a fascination for those who care to study the story of the revival of the Church of England in the present century. Few memories can compare with those which hover round the walls that have received within them Copleston, Hawkins, Whately, Arnold, Keble, Newman, Pusey, the Froudes, Church, the Mozleys, Fraser, Burgon, Samuel Wilberforce, Edward King, George Howard Wilkinson, and many others.

Its greatness was due, not so much to what it had inherited in the past, as to the foresight of those who were wise enough to throw open its fellowships to the best minds of the University; to select new members not mainly from those who had satisfied the somewhat uncertain test of the class lists, but who were possessed of general gifts and capabilities likely to prove a source of strength to the whole society. If that greatness was not maintained, and other colleges took the lead in the intellectual progress of the University, are the causes to be found in the larger resources of other institutions, or in a failure to continue the broad lines of a generous policy which had led Oriel to so high a position? For that this position was very high in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, T. B. Mozley tells us—

"Oriel College at that time contained some of the most distinguished personages, the most vigorous minds, and the most attractive characters of Oxford: from the Provost, Dr. Copleston, to the youngest undergraduate, they had been carefully selected; for to get a son into Oriel was a great thing in those days."[1]

Into that great and advancing society Keble came, and was, as Froude and others said, "The first man in Oxford." "Everybody who visited Oriel inquired after Keble, and expected to see him. It must be added that he was present in everybody's thoughts, as a glory to the college, a comfort and a stay, for the slightest word he dropped was all the more remembered from there being so little of it, and from it seeming to come from a different and holier sphere. His manner of talking favoured this, for there was not much continuity in it, only every word was a brilliant or a pearl."[2]

THE COUNTRY CURACY.

Keble's position as fellow of Oriel gave him a claim to be listened to by the academic world. But quite early in his career he displayed a love for a retired home, and an absence of anything like an ambitious spirit. He was ordained priest in 1816, and asked for the prayers of his intimate friends that he might free himself "from all pride, ambition, and uncharitableness;" and was content with a quiet curacy at East Leach and Burthorpe, where he gained a character for being "outside the Church what he professed to be inside it." He did not sever his connection with Oxford for some years, being examiner in the

[1] "Reminiscences," vol. i., p. 18.

[2] Ibid., vol. i., pp. 37, 38.

Final Schools as well as in Responsions, but gladly returned to the pastoral work in the "Cotswolds," where his conscience called him away from the temptations to enjoy what he deemed the more selfish life of the University. He yielded for a time to the demands made by his college that he should act as college tutor, where among the many friends he gained he made the acquaintance of Sir William Heathcote, one of his pupils, who afterwards presented him to the vicarage of Hursley. After three years of service as tutor of Oriel, the death of his mother finally decided him to retire from Oxford to be with his aged father, and sisters; and he resumed his country curacy, with evident pleasure in the simple life and the quiet duties of a rural pastor. But, whatever may have been the spiritual satisfaction he felt in this retirement from his University and college, it cannot be doubted that, for a man of his intellectual powers and capacity for taking a leading place in the active life at Oxford, to give up a sphere and position of influence which he was able so well to occupy was a real act of self-effacement—one entirely in harmony, however, with that life-long humility which was so prominent a feature in his character.

He was soon, almost unexpectedly and unconsciously, to influence a large number of persons, "THE CHRISTIAN YEAR," most unlikely to accept Church teaching, through "The Christian Year," which was the greatest as well as the earliest of his poetic works, and has conquered the English-speaking world in a very remarkable way. A detailed account of this great work is beyond the limits of this present sketch. Perhaps

the fullest and ablest criticism of it is to be found in the "Essay on the Author of the 'Christian Year,'" by Professor Shairp of St. Andrew's. But it is only just to note that a work, which was issued anonymously, and with the humblest self-depreciation of the author, obtained an immediate success wholly unexpected by his friends. In twenty-six years, up to 1854, 108,000 copies in forty-three editions were issued, and the sale has gone on ever since, seven editions of 11,000 copies being published in the nine months immediately following Keble's death. Its characteristics may be briefly summed up by recalling (1) its sober, soothing influence; (2) its deeply reverent and Scriptural tones; (3) its thorough appreciation of the highest aspects of nature; (4) its accurate descriptions of scenery; (5) its tender loyalty to the teaching of the Church. With the first and second the whole volume is simply saturated. The poem for Septuagesima, and the well-known verse from it, give the keynote of the third of these characteristics:—

ITS CHARACTERISTICS.

> "Two worlds are ours: 'tis only sin
> Forbids us to descry
> The mystic Heaven and earth within,
> Plain as the sea and sky."

Of the fourth, it should be noticed that Dean Stanley, in his "Sinai and Palestine," states "that he has quoted from this work ("The Christian Year") the illustrations it contains of Scripture scenery, not only because of its wide circulation, but because the careful attention of the learned author to all local allusions renders it almost a duty to test these allusions,

whenever opportunity occurs, by reference to the localities themselves."[1] Of the last-named characteristic it is sufficient to note the combination of deepest reverence to the ideal Church as the Bride of Christ, and the saddened sense of her present depressed state. Throughout the work there runs an undercurrent of pensive recognition that the present condition of the Church is "a state of decay." As Dr. Lock has truly said, "The whole volume is a dirge over the lost glory of the Church; but it is much more than that, it is a trumpet-call to Christians to be true to the life which is in them, even though they may have to face the martyr's death."[2]

It had solemn and saddened expressions of the pastor's difficulties in the midst of a rebellious world, but it is full of simple confidence and trust in God, and a sense of His love and providence never absent from or forgetful of His children. Not only nature, mountains, streams, flowers, and birds spoke to the poet of God and of His love; not only the Saints of the old and new covenant reminded him of the gracious dealings of the Eternal Father and the blessed Elder Brother Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Son; but the classic authors of Greece and Rome bore their testimony also to the mercy and goodness of Him who "is not far from every one of us."

The "Christian Year" was never altered except in the thirteenth stanza of the poem for November 5th. As early as 1835 Froude had criticized it; in 1855 Dr.

[1] "Sinai and Palestine," p. 19, note.
[2] W. Lock, "Life of Keble," p. 59.

Pusey discussed it with Keble, who always maintained that by "not in the hands," he meant "not only," according to the Scriptural analogy, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice." But in his last days he sanctioned the alteration to "*as in the hands*," because the line had been publicly quoted as expressing an opinion against any real objective Presence in the Eucharist, and after his death the alteration which he himself suggested was made. Perhaps the best view of the book and its power to influence souls is that given by Dr. Pusey: "It taught because his own soul was moved so deeply: the stream burst forth, because the heart which poured it out was full; it was fresh, deep, tender, and loving because himself was such: it disclosed to souls secrets which they knew not, but could not fail to own when known, because he was so true, and thought aloud: and conscience everywhere responded to the voice of conscience."[1]

Sir John Coleridge, in a letter addressed to the *Guardian* immediately after his friend's death, said most truly that the great ornament of the Church of England was not really lost, but would ever remain with her, and that thousands would now "hang over the 'Christian Year'" with ever-increasing interest and affection when they remembered that its beloved and venerated author "has gone to his rest and his reward."[2]

And here, in connection with the "Christian Year," it may be well to take notice of his work as Professor of poetry. As early as 1821 Keble's friends wished him

[1] Pusey, "Sermon at Keble College, 1876," p. 6.
[2] *Guardian*, April 4, 1866.

to come forward as a candidate for the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford. With his accustomed diffidence and consideration for others, he declined to appear in opposition to Milman. THE PROFESSORSHIP OF POETRY.

But ten years later, when the chair was again vacant, he willingly allowed himself to be nominated, and was elected without opposition. His course of lectures have been highly estimated by Dean Church and Bishop Moberly, as well as by Keble's two biographers, Sir John Coleridge, and the present Warden of Keble, as "the most memorable course ever delivered from the chair of poetry at Oxford," "the most charming and valuable volumes of classical criticism ever issued from the press." Through them "there run the golden threads of a religious spirit," as might have been expected, but there was present also a true poetic instinct. Mr. Gladstone, who, if any man, was well qualified to judge of this aspect of them, said it is "a refined work. . . it criticizes the Homeric poems in the spirit of a bard, setting an example, at least to England, of elevating the tone of Homeric study." Keble's own character and poetic experience is clearly manifest through the course. His definition of poetry reveals this in a letter addressed to Sir John Coleridge: "My notion is to consider poetry as a vent for overcharged feelings, or a full imagination, and so account for the various classes into which poets naturally fall, by reference to the various objects which are apt to fill and overpower the mind, so as to require a sort of relief. Then there will come in a grand distinction between what I call primary and secondary poets: the first poetizing for their own

relief, the second for any other reasons." The peroration of the course translated by Sir John Coleridge deserves to be remembered; it included the following words: "This would I desire most earnestly to deliver and commend to the thoughts of our young men, that it will be well with the pursuit of Poetry so long as her lovers shall remember that she is a gift vouchsafed to man, to minister as a specially honourable handmaid to true piety, so that they should serve her, not in word, but in deed and in truth, with all reverence, constancy, and chasteness of spirit."[1]

KEBLE'S CHARACTER.

But it was not only his training and gifts and achievements, but his character, that made him so great a power in the history of the Church, and gave a spiritual potency to his writings, even to those apparently simple letters that issued from the retirement of his country life. Dr. Liddon, in a well-known sermon, has pointed out three leading characteristics found in Keble: (1) A strong sense of Divine truth centering itself on the Personality of Christ. (2) A holy severity in his own personal life. This exhibited itself not only in such details as fasting, which he practised rigorously, even in his old age refusing to take food before a Celebration, though at a late hour, but also in a marvellous self-restraint under difficult and trying circumstances. (3) A remarkable courage, tempered by gentleness, which led him to befriend an unpopular cause, or acknowledge principles of which the world was afraid.[2]

[1] "Life," pp. 208, 213, 217.

[2] "Clerical Life and Work:" "John Keble," pp. 345, *seq.*

III.

At the end of 1828, Dr. Copleston, Provost of Oriel, was appointed Bishop of Llandaff and Dean of St. Paul's. The choice of a successor lay between Keble and Hawkins. That Pusey and Newman should have voted for Hawkins, and not for their friend John Keble, has often been the occasion of surprise. Newman remarked playfully, that if they had been electing an "angel," Keble must have been their choice. Pusey said, many years after, that what at the time they wished for in a Provost was "a practical man." It is idle, perhaps, to speculate on what might have been the future of Oriel with Keble as Provost and Newman as his principal tutor and fellow. Possibly Oriel might have held the place in Oxford afterwards taken by Balliol, with some all-important differences. One thing, however, is clear, that the training of Keble's character would have lacked that self-repression so touchingly shown in his withdrawal from the contest, and expressed in his lowly and unselfish language when writing to announce his intention of so doing, as well as in the life of retirement which he thus so deliberately chose as his lot in life. It might have been thought that such great gifts as he possessed should have had a wider and more public field for their use and exercise; but the issue has shown, to those who can read the rulings of God's hand, that this is a wholly mistaken idea. For in that retirement, in the providence of God, the opportunity came for planting the first seeds of this great Movement, and

THE PROVOSTSHIP OF ORIEL.

KEBLE'S RETIREMENT.

watering and tending its hidden principles and character. It has been truly said, "The Oxford Movement and its results have been charged, even by bishops, with 'secrecy.' No charge is likely to be more popular with the vulgar. . . . The charge of secrecy to the average Englishman of to-day seems to connote something underhand and unfair, which at once rouses his suspicions. But there is a hiddenness—we will not call it 'secrecy'—which is characteristic of the realm of the Spirit, . . . and it is this hiddenness which seems to have been characteristic of all true religious movements. We mark it abundantly in the origin and progress of the work of Keble and his successors."[1]

Keble's character, becoming developed in this retirement, made itself in a remarkable way a centre of influence. Such leisure as he had, after the simple requirements of his duties as curate were satisfied, was occupied partly by theological study, and partly by reading with pupils. Among these were Robert Wilberforce, Isaac Williams, and Hurrell Froude. What Dean Church has described as the impression made on Isaac Williams was equally true of others.

HIS PUPILS.

"He had before him in John Keble a spectacle which was absolutely new to him. Ambitious as a rising and successful scholar at college, he saw a man looked up to and wondered at by every one, absolutely without pride and without ambition. He saw the most distinguished academic of his day, to whom every prospect was open, retiring from Oxford in the height of his

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1899.

fame to busy himself with a few hundreds of Gloucestershire peasants in a miserable curacy. He saw this man caring for and respecting the ignorant and poor as much as others respected the great and learned. He saw this man, who had made what the world would call so great a sacrifice, apparently unconscious that he had made any sacrifice at all; gay, unceremonious, bright, full of play as a boy; ready with his pupils for any exercise, mental or muscular,—for a hard ride, or a crabbed bit of Æschylus, or a logic fence with disputatious and paradoxical undergraduates giving and taking on even ground. These pupils saw one, the breadth of whose religion none could doubt, 'always endeavouring to do them good, as it were, unknown to themselves and in secret, and ever avoiding that his kindness should be felt and acknowledged;' showing in the whole course of daily life, the purity of Christian love, and taking the utmost pains to make no profession or show of it."[1]

HURRELL FROUDE.

Of all his pupils perhaps the most remarkable was Hurrell Froude. He was the eldest son of Rupert H. Froude, Archdeacon of Totnes, and was born at Dartington, Devon, in 1803; James Antony Froude, the historian, was his youngest brother. He was educated at Ottery St. Mary, under the Rev. George Coleridge, and afterwards at Eton. He went up to Oriel in 1821, and took his degree in double honours, second class, in 1824. In 1826 he was elected Fellow of Oriel, and having read with Keble earlier at his curacy at Southrop, became soon on intimate and

[1] Dean Church, "The Oxford Movement," p. 69.

indeed affectionate terms with Newman, who said of him, "He was a pupil of Keble's, formed by him and, in turn, reacting upon him."[1] Throughout his short life, which closed prematurely in 1836, he displayed an ardour for the Catholic faith and a most remarkable personal devotion to God, which showed itself in the inner life of prayer and self-discipline revealed by the publication of his "Remains," collected and edited by Newman and Keble in 1838. His clever, imaginative nature, and attractive character and forcible manner of putting things, had no little part in forming Newman's opinions, and disposing him to realize and accept the Catholic aspect of the Anglican Church and her Apostolic foundations. He wrote several of the earlier Tracts, and, while in many respects an admirer of the Roman Church and her past history, was greatly repelled by what he saw of the practical working of the Roman system. Of Romanists he said, "They are wretched Tridentines everywhere." It is useless to speculate on the course that Froude would have taken as the chequered history of the Movement unfolded itself; but there are not wanting indications to show that it is by no means clear that he would have followed his dear friend Newman in his final act of secession, rather than have remained like his tutor Keble, loyal to his spiritual Mother, the Church of England, and have aided her, still more than he actually did during his short life, in the great struggle for her recovered vitality. Of Froude's share in the starting of the Movement, Dean Church has said, "Keble attracted

[1] "Apologia," p. 23.

and moulded Froude, he impressed Froude with his strong Churchmanship, . . . but Froude, in accepting Keble's ideas, resolved to make them active, public, and aggressive, and he found in Newman a colleague whose bold originality responded to his own. . . . Keble had given the inspiration, Froude had given the impulse, then Newman took up the work, and the impulse, henceforth, and the direction were his."[1] Newman himself said to Froude, "I am conscious I have got all my best things from Keble: you and Keble are the philosophers and I the rhetorician."[2]

INFLUENCE ON NEWMAN.

Every remarkable movement, whether it be of the individual soul or of the Church, has its great days, or its anniversaries; Newman has told us what was the great anniversary of the Oxford Movement: "On the fourteenth of July, 1833, Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University Pulpit; it was published under the title of 'National Apostacy.' I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious Movement of 1833."[3] It was a time of great political changes, of apparent invasion of the Church's rights. The suppression of ten Irish bishoprics, the growing tendency to legislate apart from all religious considerations, the ignoring of the wishes of Churchmen, all these appeared to be signs of national degeneration, and the preacher summoned all true sons of the Church "to devote themselves to

THE ASSIZE SERMON.

[1] "The Oxford Movement," p. 32.
[2] "Life and Letters," vol. ii., p. 156.
[3] "Apologia," p. 100.

the cause of their Apostolic Mother," promising them that "the victory will be complete, universal, eternal." Another historic day is the meeting at Hadleigh Vicarage, in July of that same year, of Hugh James Rose, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Perceval, Froude, all in sympathy and communication with Keble and Newman. From that meeting sprang the "Tracts for the Times," well called by Thomas Mozley in his "Reminiscences," "That portentous birth of Time."[1] Keble's share in these, though very important, is not a very large one in quantity, and he mainly confined himself to subjects akin to that of the first of the Tracts, namely, the Apostolic character of the Christian ministry. But he dealt with his subject in a varied way, and showed how the Holy Scriptures and the Sacraments, the true standard of life and doctrine, were inevitably bound up with the faithful preservation of the Apostolic ministry. The errors of foreign Protestants were to him largely due to the loss of the Apostolical succession, and even the corruptions of Rome he traced to the undue exaltation of one prelate, and the depreciation of the just rights of the rest of the Christian hierarchy.

THE HADLEIGH MEETING.

THE "TRACTS FOR THE TIMES."

The last Tract but one was his, No. 89, and dealt with a very different subject, "The Mystic Interpretation of Holy Scripture"—a favourite study of Keble's, and of the rest of the Oxford School. The storm which raged on the appearance of Tract 90 caused Keble, like many others, not a little surprise. Looking back after sixty years have elapsed, the surprise

TRACT XC.

[1] Vol. i., p. 311.

rather is that the storm had not broken out sooner, and that, when it did break out, so many remained steadfast to the teaching of the Tracts. So many people had for so long assumed that the description of the Anglican formularies, as uniting a "Romish Liturgy" with "Calvinistic Articles," was a true one, that an interpretation of the latter in a Catholic sense seemed little short of monstrous. It is a strong argument in favour of the latent Catholic principles of the Anglican Church that the Tracts met with so much sympathy and welcome, not only in academic circles, but in remote parsonages and country houses. The hostility exhibited in high places, in the Universities, on the Episcopal Bench, and elsewhere in society might have been anticipated to have been even greater than it was. Keble and Pusey both wrote pamphlets in general defence of the main contention of the celebrated Tract—principles which have been, in later years, widely accepted and acted on. Keble's general estimate of the Tract was given in a private letter in its defence, addressed to his friend, Sir John Coleridge, and published later: "If I may speak of myself individually, I will add that the general tone of the Tract, more especially of the introduction, appeared to me so very instructive, so exactly what our present position requires, that it would have required some very grave reason indeed to make me consent to its suppression. To explain myself I will instance particularly one expression—the rather because it seems to have been understood by many quite in a different sense from what the context obviously requires. 'Till her members are

KEBLE'S DEFENCE.

stirred up to this religious course (of repentance, confession, and prayer, such as to win back the forfeited blessing of the unity of the Spirit) let the Church sit still; let her be content to be in bondage; let her work in chains; let her submit to her imperfections as a punishment; let her go on teaching with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies and inconsistent precedents, and principles partially developed.' In this I saw nothing but a condensed statement of the same fact which had been taught and illustrated in detail in a former "Tract for the Times," No. 86." And he went on to show that this Tract "had tended much more to remove scruples and to satisfy tender minds." The former Tract had to deal with the Prayer-book, Tract 90 with the Articles. Keble expressed his belief, concerning Newman's position and language, that "until English Churchmen generally sympathize with him so far, I see no chance of our Church assuming her true position in Christendom, or of the mitigation of our present unhappy divisions." [1] In the troublous history of the next few years, called by Dean Church, "the Catastrophe," culminating in the secession of Newman, Keble had a sad yet noble task to fulfil. To be loyal to his friends, but faithful also to the Church; never to cease to love even those who parted from him for ever in this present life; to strengthen and sustain faltering hearts; to constantly issue letters and papers of Catholic teaching; and all the while to carry on the quiet ministries of his parish, was his divinely given vocation. In the sad perplexing times that preceded "the fall" of what

[1] "Letter to the Hon. Mr. Justice Coleridge," p. 7.

Keble called "the thunderbolt,"—Newman's secession, when the condemnation of Tract 90, the cessation of the Tracts, the suspension of Dr. Pusey, followed one upon another in quick succession; when, on the other hand, Ward and Oakley, no longer restrained by Newman, who was living in retirement at Littlemore, were more and more expressing their admiration for the Church of Rome as the true "Ideal Church," and depreciating the Anglican Church, whose failures and weaknesses were made the most of, Keble was filled with no little anxiety and apprehension for the future. Letters of his to Newman and others, written at this time, reveal the tender affection he felt for the great leader's difficulties, and his hopes, up to the last moment, that "light would be given." He describes his own personal anguish at what he dreaded would eventually take place, when he writes to Newman: "My grand swallow of pain on the subject was perhaps three quarters of a year ago, when I received a longer letter of yours, and retired into a dirty chalk pit to read it. I cannot tell you with what sort of a fancy I look at the place now."[1] When all was over, he wrote to Newman:—

ANXIETIES AND FEARS.

"MY DEAREST NEWMAN,

"You have been a kind and helpful friend to me in a way in which scarce any one else could have been, and you are so mixed up in my mind with old and dear and sacred thoughts, that I cannot well bear to part with you—most

NEWMAN'S SECESSION.

[1] Letter, March 3, 1844.

unworthy as I know myself to be, and yet I cannot go along with you. I must cling to the belief that we are not really parted—you have taught me so, and I scarce think you can unteach me,—and, having relieved my mind with this little word, I will only say, God bless you, and reward you a thousandfold all your help in every way to me unworthy, and to so many others. May you have peace when you are gone, and help us in some way to get peace; but somehow I scarce think it will be in the way of controversy. And so, with somewhat of a feeling as if Spring had been taken out of my year, I am always

Your affectionate and grateful

J. KEBLE."[1]

It is impossible to imagine a more loving, loyal, and tender farewell than this.

THE "LYRA INNOCENTIUM."

In times of distress and anxiety, Keble, like many another poet, "found relief in verse." It was during the years from 1841 to 1845 that he composed the poems afterwards published as the "Lyra Innocentium." The sense of rest and refreshment from the contemplation of child life, childlike faith, childlike innocence, was very grateful to him. "The sorrows of the time have drawn him out of himself, and made him cling close to the Church, like a child clinging to its mother's robe among strangers, when it can only see 'far-reaching ways unknown and wide.'"[2] The book was, indeed, not so much a book *for* children as *about*

[1] Letter, October 11, 1845.

[2] W. Lock, "John Keble," p. 136, 137.

children. It is evident that it was intended to suggest lessons from innocent childhood, rather than to be a textbook for children themselves, from the verse of Wordsworth he selected as the motto of the work—

> "O dearest, dearest Boy, my heart
> For better lore would seldom yearn,
> Could I but teach the hundredth part
> Of what from thee I learn."

It is a book, like some beautiful works of fiction of later days, by Mrs. Ewing and Miss Burnett, which appeal wonderfully to all who love children—mothers, fathers, pastors; it was intended to serve "as a sort of *Christian Year* for teachers and nurses." The use made of "white apparel" in its various forms is very beautiful: "The Chrisom," "The Sunday Dress," "Confirmation," "Priests in White," "Choristers in White," "Bridal White," "Penitents in White," "White upon the Altar," "The Winding Sheet."

The tone of the work is brighter, less subjective than that of the "Christian Year" and its theology, as he himself seems to acknowledge, perhaps more clearly defined, because more distinctly understood by the writer. Reverence towards the Blessed Virgin, which had a very distinct place in the poem in the early Book on the Annunciation, "Ave Maria, thou whose name all but adoring love may claim," is marked here by the beautiful reference to the orphaned child feeling that not only her own departed mother is praying for her, but also "a holier Mother, rapt in more prevailing prayer." He had, moreover, written a beautiful poem called "Mother out of Sight," intended to be a prelude

to the volume, but this was, at the advice of friends, omitted. The language, which scarcely went beyond that of the "Christian Year," though it invited Christians to greet Blessed Mary with an "Ave," as "children with 'good morrow' come, to elders in some happy home," was carefully guarded; and the tone of the poem, as of the whole volume, breathed a humble confidence in the Church he served. In the preface finally adopted he prays that God will guide the perplexed—

> "And, with no faint nor erring voice,
> May to the wand'rer whisper, 'Stay:
> God chooses for thee, seal His choice,
> Nor from thy Mother's shadow stray:
> For sure thy Holy Mother's shade
> Rests yet upon thine ancient home:
> No voice from Heaven hath clearly said,
> "Let us depart:" then fear to roam.'"

All true artists draw at times their inspiration from living models, and some of the children who came into contact with Keble, and whom he loved and admired greatly, suggested some of the thoughts of this beautiful collection of poems. Children appealed powerfully to Keble's tender heart. When he held an infant in his arms at a Baptism, he would retain it lingeringly, with a loving glance and a tear in his eye, before he parted with the newly regenerate child of God. Among the children he loved especially were those of Peter Young, his curate, who had suffered the great trial of being refused Priest's Orders on account of his Eucharistic belief, and young G. H. Moberly, "a boy of beautiful countenance," who keenly felt, as so many children do, the oppression of loneliness at night.

"Scarce dare I lay me down and sleep,
Lest in half-waking dream,
Dimly all ways to dance and creep
The forms around me seem."

This childish sense of dread is to be calmed by only one thing—

"One only spell hath power to soothe,
When thoughts and dreams appal,
Name thou His Name, Who is the Truth,
And He will hear thy call."

NEWMAN'S CRITICISM.

Newman wrote a review of his friend's poems, and made it the occasion of giving an account of his friend himself, entitled "John Keble, Fellow of Oriel." It was a very kindly article, and, considering the short time that had elapsed since his secession, not very keenly controversial. Newman seems greatly to have appreciated the fact, that, in the "Lyra Innocentium" there was no sort of severity expressed against Rome. In the "Christian Year," this element had not been altogether absent, though expressed mildly enough, as in the words, "Speak gently of our sister's fall." But in the later volume, as was becoming in a book of poems about children, and in some degree intended for children's use, it was, as Newman said, fitting and just to keep controversy out altogether. Children ought to be brought up in such a manner that, as far as possible, they may be ignorant of the very existence of heresy and schism and divisions in the Catholic Church.

IV.

The parish where he spent so many years of quiet ministry was Hursley, the curacy of which he had accepted in 1825. There were many attractions to draw him to the neighbourhood of Winchester, and the pleasant Hampshire "woodland hill and valley," with the sea within reach. Above all, the friendship of the patron, Sir William Heathcote, so entirely at one with him in Church principles and religious aspirations, opened out a prospect of great usefulness as well as of personal happiness. But the death of his sister recalled him back to Fairford, where he remained till the death of his father in 1835. His old home being now broken up, he was free to accept the offer of the Vicarage of Hursley now made him, and, being engaged to Miss Clarke, sister to Mrs. Thomas Keble, his marriage and settlement at Hursley took place in the autumn of 1835. The married life of Keble was singularly happy and peaceful. Mrs. Keble was described as a true poet's wife, and was besides a true pastor's wife. Though they had not the happiness of the gift of children, nothing but the delicate health of Mrs. Keble marred the serenity of that cultured, religious home. It may be sufficient on this subject to quote the words of Sir John Coleridge: "His was a nature which delighted in sympathy and intimate communion: he had chosen well: Mrs. Keble, without going out of her subordinate place, and in spite of her delicate health, was his very helpful and affectionate fellow-worker, comforter, and

HURSLEY VICARAGE.

MARRIAGE.

support to the end of his days."[1] Some critics said, when he married, "Keble is now a caged eagle." But he never suffered the claims of home, or the duties of his pastoral charge, to diminish his ardent interest in the concerns of the Church at large, or prevent him from lending the whole force of his influence, as well as his ready pen, to the defence of her faith and rights.

Keble lived long enough to receive some reward of his loyal patience, in the recovery of the Church from the reeling blows she had received in those dark days; to see the principles of the Oxford Movement passing out of the stage of academic controversy and clerical discussion into the spiritual life of the people; to see, as at Leeds and in East London, the Church dealing with the poorest and most degraded in her true Apostolic character, not as the mere creature of the State, but as the Divine Spouse of Christ; to see all the principles that he had held from the first, and taught and handed on, translated into the practical work of countless English parishes. But, all through those years, the retirement of his country parish did not keep him secluded from the din of controversy and the clash of contending parties. Not a crisis in the Church's history, not a threat of State encroachment, not a rise of blighting error, but roused him to earnest activity in the Church's behalf. His letters to Dr. Pusey and others, his pamphlets and essays, are full of all those grave occasions that mark the struggle of the Catholic party in the Church. In the Gorham controversy, in the prosecution of Archdeacon Denison,

KEBLE'S WORK FOR THE CHURCH.

[1] "Life of Keble," p. 245.

in the censure passed upon Bishop Forbes of Brechin, in the troubles in the South African dioceses through the trial and condemnation of Bishop Colenso, Keble's pen was ever active. He had a great affection and respect for Bishop Gray of Capetown. All through the years 1864 and 1865, and until he was struck down by paralysis, when Mrs. Keble wrote at his dictation, he sent important letters to one whom he regarded as a champion of the Catholic Faith, full of encouragement, sympathy, and advice.[1] He felt, as also in the case of the "Essays and Reviews," how serious a position the Church of England was in, through being subjected to the very unsatisfactory decisions of so anomalous a court of appeal as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He again and again expressed his hope, that it would be dethroned from its position, and, indeed, declared his opinion that it would be necessary to destroy it as the Ecclesiastical final Court of Appeal, unless the Church of England was to be destroyed herself as a living branch of the Catholic Church. The sacraments of Holy Baptism and the Eucharist were again and again the subject of his earnest defence. His work on "Eucharistical Adoration" is a well-known monument of his patristic and liturgical knowledge. Some may have criticized it as containing too much of the mystical element, as being too fanciful in its interpretation of Scripture and in its patristic illustrations of doctrine and worship ; but it is nevertheless a striking specimen of a devout and reverent recognition of Jesus Christ, as the ever-present and ever-adorable

[1] "Life of Bishop Gray," vol. ii., p. 121, etc.

Lord, of whom Bishop Andrewes said, in words that Keble quotes in the treatise, "Christ Himself the inward part of the Sacrament, in and with the Sacrament, wheresoever He is, is to be worshipped."

Now and again he appeared as the staunch champion of the sanctity of Christian marriage; and in the controversy that arose out of "Essays and Reviews," the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and the true eschatology of the Catholic Church, were strenuously upheld by him. He was ever conscious, not only of the theoretical right of English Churchmen to receive the blessings that come from a right use of private confession and absolution, but often expressed his longing for a more practical experience of its benefits among our people. He felt, and often said, that many a pastor was working in the dark from lack of knowledge of his people's needs. How tenderly and yet faithfully he fulfilled the office of a spiritual physician, has been happily revealed to us in those spiritual letters of his that have fortunately been preserved. It is a striking picture that is presented of the retired village clergyman, who never received any offer of preferment—unless an obscure colonial archdeaconry or an honorary canonry in a Scottish collegiate church can be so called—influencing the Anglican Communion, not only in these islands, but all over the world, by his poems, letters, and published works, and yet ministering constantly and calmly to his rustic flock, and to those many troubled souls far and wide who sought his counsel. One who was thoroughly competent to describe his pastoral life and

PAROCHIAL LIFE AND MINISTRY.

its blessed results tells us, "The vicar was the personal minister to each individual of his flock, teaching in the school, catechizing in the Church, most carefully preparing for Confirmation, watching over the homes, and, however otherwise busied, always at the beck and call of every one in the parish. To the old men and women of the workhouse he paid special attention, bringing them little delicacies, trying to brighten their dull minds as a means of reaching their souls, and endeavouring to raise their spirits to higher things. One who had been removed to another Union, when asked how he liked Hursley, said, 'It seemed as if they were singing "Holy, holy, holy," all day long.'"[1]

It is this side of Keble's life which is, after all, the greatest and most beautiful. His simple, perfect faith in prayer was very remarkable, and was manifested in his obedience to the Church's rule of reciting the daily offices, as well as in the large amount of time he gave to private devotion and intercession. It is sometimes urged against a strict adherence to the time-honoured practice of the Church, to have public daily services recited, that less time is thereby left for family and private prayers, study, and preparation of sermons. The life of Keble at Hursley is a complete answer to such shallow and unreal objections. He never neglected any department of his pastoral duties, never omitted daily service, teaching in his schools, visiting the sick; he was a student to the end of his life, and a tender and affectionate pastor and friend to all his people young and old. And all this ever carried on with a wonderful

[1] C. M. Yonge, "Keble's Parishes," p. 140

humility expressed in his poem on the Visitation and Communion of the Sick—

> "Such have I seen: and while they pour'd,
> Their hearts in every contrite word,
> How have I rather long'd to kneel,
> And ask of them sweet pardon's seal."

He was a true priest, if ever there was one, entirely free from all false sacerdotal self-sufficiency. The calmness and hiddenness of Keble's parochial ministry is a contrast, and, indeed, a rebuke, to the restlessness of much of the Church's work of our own day; quiet care of the flock; no hurried, feverish running to and fro to meetings; devout use of the divinely appointed means of grace, the Word and Sacraments; without recourse to dangerous expedients for arousing religious emotions; no short cuts to holiness and perfection by self-devised methods strange to the Catholic Church; but patient following of the Master's example, and trustful dependence on the work of the Holy Spirit, Whom he knew to be ever present and ever active in the mystical Body of Christ.

RITUALISM.

Keble took little part in the later ceremonial developments which are called by the name of Ritual. In his own parish the complete reverence of his worship was expressed in very simple ways. But he was undoubtedly in sympathy with everything that tended to recognize the glory and honour of the Divine Presence in the sanctuary, and only ventured to deprecate sudden and unprepared changes. In a letter of his, published in October, 1865, in the *Literary Churchman*, on the "Ritual of the

Church of England," he gave expression to his views on ceremonial in very considerate language. "I do indeed regret the disregard of that rubric (the 'ornaments rubric') as a real blemish on our ecclesiastical practice—a contradiction to our theory, less momentous but quite as real as our almost entire disuse of the discipline of Jesus Christ, our obligation to which, nevertheless, we formally acknowledge. But, as in the latter case, so in this, the time and manner of regaining the old paths must, under our circumstances, be a question of equity and charity, not of strict law alone. I, for one, rejoice whenever and wherever I see that kind of revival successfully and tranquilly accomplished." He then went on to deprecate "invidious comparisons and scornful criticisms," passed sometimes by those who had revived the ancient ceremonies upon those who do not yet see their way to do so, and he regretted the disparaging tone used sometimes about midday Communions, with small consideration for "the aged and infirm, and others who cannot come early." When his own personal practice is remembered, strict and rigid fasting before celebrating, up to the end of his life, these words are all the more worthy of notice. "Again, I cannot but doubt," he said, "the wisdom of urging all men indiscriminately to be present at the Holy Mysteries . . . the rather in that there appears to be some danger of the idea gaining ground which meets one in Roman Catholic books of devotion, of some special quasi-sacramental grace connected with simply assisting devoutly at Mass, over and above that promised to all earnest and faithful prayer." He longed to see mutual

forbearance and charity with regard to ornate or plain ceremonial, fasting Communion, and reception after a meal, non-communicating attendance, and the like, quoting the charitable counsel of the first Book of Edward VI., "To follow and to keep the rule of charity, and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds or consciences; whereas he hath no warrant of God's Word to the same."

But whatever caution he recommended in the revival of ceremonial usages, he was full of ardent zeal for "the beauty of holiness" in the sanctuaries of God's Church. He certainly spared no cost and pains in making his own village churches as beautiful as possible. Sir John Coleridge and Miss Yonge have both recorded the story of the rebuilding of Hursley Church, the erection of schools and new churches at Otterbourne and Ampfield. Mr. W. C. Yonge at Otterbourne, and Sir William Heathcote at Hursley, are types of the generous English laymen who have never been wanting, in the fold of the Anglican Church, to devote willingly their substance to the adornment of the sanctuary and the maintenance of its services. They, like hundreds since, are instances of the power of the Oxford Movement to touch the hearts and heads, not only of the clergy, but of the faithful laity, men and women, gentle and simple, and inspire them with fresh ardour for the house of God, for the spiritual fabric that they have learned to understand and to love, and then for the material buildings which are its symbol and visible embodiment. The co-operation of Keble with such men in bringing the sanctuaries

HIS CHURCHES.

of his united parishes into a state of order and beauty, worthy of the reverent worship of God, was an early instance of the generous and even lavish expenditure which, in the last forty years, has completely transformed many of the ancient parish churches of our land, as well as our cathedrals; rescued them from ruin and decay, supplied them with seemly furniture and ornaments, and has planted everywhere new buildings, countless almost in number, in the ever-increasing centres of our rapidly growing population. Keble was able to provide no inconsiderable share of the cost of the new buildings in his parishes, from the proceeds of the "Christian Year," and afterwards of the "Lyra Innocentium," to meet the generous offerings of the laity. He bestowed much time and care on the selection of subjects for the stained glass of his churches, his knowledge of Fairford and its celebrated windows helping him not a little in this particular.

V.

THE MEETING AT HURSLEY.

Keble's later years had some trials in private life, in losses of friends and relations, but not a few consolations. Among these latter must be named that strange, pathetic meeting, in October, 1864, with Cardinal Newman, and, by a seeming accident, with Dr. Pusey also. The mingled joy and pain of such a meeting is indescribable, and it may well be supposed that, while all three hearts were full, few words were spoken. It was, at least, a happy foretaste of

the final reconciliation, not only of divided lives, but of a distracted Christendom. Newman, in a letter to Sir John Coleridge, has described this pathetic meeting. After relating how it happened that, though invited to Hursley, he arrived there unexpectedly, he says—

"Keble was at his door, speaking to a friend. He did not know me, and asked my name. What was more wonderful, since I had purposely come to his house, I did not know him, and I feared to ask who it was. I gave him my card without speaking. When at length we found out each other, he said, with that tender flurry of manner which I recollected so well, that his wife had been seized with an attack of her complaint that morning, and that he could not receive me as he should have wished to do; nor, indeed, had he expected me, for 'Pusey,' he whispered, 'is in the house, as you are aware.'

NEWMAN'S DESCRIPTION.

"Then he brought me into his study, and embraced me most affectionately, and said he would go and prepare Pusey, and bring him to me.

"I think I got there in the forenoon, and remained with him four or five hours, dining at one or two. He was in and out of the room all the time I was with him, attending to his wife, and I was left with Pusey. I recollect very little of the conversation that passed at dinner. Pusey was full of the question of the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and Keble expressed his joy that it was a common cause in which I could not substantially differ from them; and he caught at such words of mine as seemed to show agreement. . . . Just before my time for going, Pusey went to read the

Evening Service in church, and I was left in the open air with Keble by himself. He said he would write to me in the Isle of Wight, as soon as his wife got better, and then I should come over and have a day with him. We walked a little way, and stood, looking in silence at the church and churchyard, so beautiful and calm. Then he began to converse with me in more than his old tone of intimacy, as if we had never been parted, and soon I was obliged to go. . . . He wrote me many notes about this time. In one of them he made a reference to the lines in *Macbeth*—

> 'When shall we three meet again? . . .
> When the hurlyburly's done,
> When the battle's lost and won.'"

Sir John Coleridge adds, "They parted, and Keble wrote the well-known lines from *Macbeth*. I hope we may not irreverently look forward for them to another blessed meeting—

> 'When before the Judgment Seat,
> Though changed, and glorified each face,
> Not unremembered ye may meet,
> For endless ages to embrace.'"[1]

KEBLE'S PERSONAL RELIGION.

But one general feature of Keble's writings and character must not be omitted. It might have been supposed, from what has been already said, that the religion practised and taught by him was mainly ecclesiastical. But it is the testimony of one who was not an Anglican, Principal Shairp, that, "combined with devout reverence for the

[1] "Life of Keble," p. 528, *seq.*

Person of our Lord, there is in him, first, perhaps, of his contemporaries, a closer and more personal love for Him as a loving Friend." It is also not a little remarkable as Dean Church has pointed out "that one result of Tractarianism was the increased care for the Gospels and study of them, as compared with other parts of the Bible."[1] One who is admirably qualified to pronounce such a judgment has recently said, "No one has ever touched the Gospels with so much innate kinship of spirit as Newman."[2]

In connection with this we can never forget the "Devotional Commentary" on the Gospels by Keble's pupil, Isaac Williams.

Keble's personal religion is almost too sacred a subject to touch upon. He was humble and self-depreciatory almost to excess. This lowly sense of unworthiness, this penitential attitude of soul, was all the more prominent after the great troubles that overtook the Oxford Movement. He felt, as it were, the chastening hand of God, and humbled himself beneath it. He used language about his own unworthiness that, to superficial persons, might appear either exaggerated or else significant of some grave shortcomings. In some of his letters to Newman this was so prominent that, before they were handed over for publication, the Cardinal erased certain sentences, lest, as he said, they should be misunderstood and create an entirely wrong impression. Among other reasons for his self-depreciation, he mentioned his fears lest some failure of his own

[1] "The Oxford Movement," p. 191.

[2] Dr. Sanday, "New Dictionary of the Bible," vol. ii., p. 653.

should have helped to bring about the secession of that friend whom he loved so dearly. The truth is that Keble lived so devout a life, and one so closely spent in communion with God, that he grew more and more sensitive to the presence of sin in his own heart, and to the lofty standard of the Divine law.

HIS SERMONS.

As a preacher, Keble could be learned and scholarly before a University congregation. But he set himself deliberately to speak with simple plainness of thought and language to his village flock. He did not shrink from bringing before them the highest truths of Christianity. He explained fully, yet very simply, the Sacraments of the Church, and the great fundamental doctrines of the Incarnation and the Atonement. But he more and more brought himself to use homely illustrations, taken from the daily life of his hearers, to convey to them the deep lessons of the Gospel. Dr. Pusey said that the chief characteristics of his sermons are "affectionate sympathy and intense reality;" and Newman, as early as 1837, urged the publication of certain sermons, "on account of their matter, not only of the authority of your name." The sermons of his which have been published since his death were not prepared for the press, but their value is very great, perhaps on that very account, as models of the kind of sermons that are likely to be profitable to a village congregation. They are comparatively short, exceedingly plain, and free from rhetorical ornament, and at the same time original and striking, full of reference to Holy Scripture, never degenerating into mere vague generalities, but possessing a kind of grace and winning power

all his own. Above all, they were the sermons of a man who believed with all his heart in the reality of his message. There could be no mistake as to what he taught in doctrine and practice. He could be stern and severe in rebuking sin, tender and gentle in encouraging penitents. There was no disguising of his belief in the Church as the Body of Christ, and of her Sacraments as "the extension of the Incarnation." He preached "Jesus Christ and Him crucified," but he preached a Christ living and reigning, to be found and realized in the Church, the Word, Baptism, Absolution, and the Holy Eucharist.

The following extract from a sermon on "The Touch of Christ an Infallible Cure," illustrates very well the combination of Evangelical truth with clear and definite Sacramental teaching. "You quite believe that you cannot be saved without Christ; but I fear, I fear, that a good many of you indulge a blind, dreamy sort of hope, that Christ will somehow save you without any deep personal religion of your own: without your turning to Him and away from the world in good earnest, with a new heart and a new spirit. . . . Here He is, come to heal you, offering Himself in His Scriptures, for you to hear His voice, in His Sacraments for you actually to partake of Him. . . . Come here with faith (as, if you have any faith, of course you will come), with hearts desiring and endeavouring to be serious; and then the Healer of your souls, Christ crucified, will very graciously meet you here. . . . He will come nearer and nearer to you, will encourage you more and more to touch Him in His Holy Sacrament of

Communion ; do you go on answering to His calls, sooner or later you will know, what now you only hear or read, that 'as many as touch Him are made perfectly whole.'"[1]

The following quaint and simple explanation of a well-known type shows how he could place himself on a level with lowly minds. "I should not wonder if it seemed to those who were by, very strange that the instrument of their healing should be made in the likeness of the very creature which had bitten them ; as I have heard, and it seemed very strange to me, that, when a man is bitten by a viper, part of that very viper is a good thing to apply to the wound. Very strange it must have seemed to them, but observe its spiritual meaning. The Son of God, when He came to save sinners, was to be made in the likeness of sinful flesh ; this sinful flesh being the serpent that bites us, our Lord being in the likeness of that serpent : *in the likeness*, I say, of sinful flesh ; not that He was Himself sinful flesh,—God forbid—there was no touch of sin in His human nature, as there was no touch of poison in the serpent of brass ;—but in all besides, He was one of us, and, being so, He vouchsafed to be lifted up, as was that serpent of brass, for our healing. He was lifted up first eighteen hundred years ago as a Sacrifice on an altar. . . . He is lifted up to all who are baptized. . . . He is lifted up for the sincere penitent."[2]

And the following words, from a sermon against "the danger of priding ourselves on privileges," illustrate excellently that watchfulness against spiritual pride

[1] "Sermons on the Christian Year," Saints' Days, pp. 391–393.
[2] Ibid., Holy Week, pp. 187, 188.

which explains the secret of his own humility. "It is too plain, if you think on it for a moment; from the highest to the lowest in the Church of Christ, from the least little child sitting by another on a form in a Sunday School, to any—the most dignified among bishops and pastors—there is a temptation and a trial in respect of humility: we are one and all tempted to be self-satisfied and proud, instead of simply thankful for the position and standing which God has given us in this His Church, His Holy Mountain; much as when choral music is going on, and a whole company or congregation are singing or playing every one his own part, there is a temptation (especially to the skilful ones) to be thinking of one's self, how well one is performing, instead of throwing one's self, heart and soul and voice, into the work, how sacred soever." . . . "Whatever line of separation we look at—whether to Catholic Christians as compared with those who deny more or less of the Creed, or to Churchmen compared with Dissenters, or to 'good Churchmen' (so-called) compared with such as seem to think less of the Church,—can we deny that, in proportion to people's earnestness and zeal, Satan is sure to whisper to their secret souls more or less of vain imaginations, how good of them it is to keep so regularly to the right, and to teach them a kind of scornful pity for those who seem to be in the wrong."[1]

Among his published sermons perhaps the most characteristic is the course on the Baptismal Office. In

[1] "Sermons for the Christian Year," Miscellaneous, pp. 360, 361.

these beautiful addresses there is a clear and bold statement of doctrine. Original sin, the personality of the Evil One, the new birth, the Personality and indwelling of the Holy Ghost, are all distinctly brought out. The grace of Baptism is described as "a spark of holy fire lit up in (the child) which, if it be duly attended to, will consume all that is gross and earthly, and purify him altogether in the likeness of Jesus Christ." But the need of further grace, perseverance, and improvement, "most likely of conversion," is clearly laid down. The tremendous responsibilities of the baptized are again recalled in words of solemn warning. Adults are urged to confession of sin "which may have brought us perhaps into a worse than unbaptized condition." . . . "Oh that it would please Him to pour upon us, even now, His good and loving Spirit,—upon *us*, I say, who are here present, that we might from this very hour begin, one and all of us, to show forth our baptisms in our lives far more truly, far more courageously, far more lovingly than we have yet done!" Keble, in such sermons as these, was translating into language intelligible to country people, all the full and elaborate teaching of the writers of the Tracts, on what Baptism really is, and translating it in a most tender, loving manner that went straight to people's hearts.

It has been said that, in spite of his strong and uncompromising preaching of Sacramental truth, "Evangelical" and even Dissenting men and women recognized him as a spiritual man, and acknowledged that he preached the Gospel faithfully. Since his time it has not been infrequently allowed that evangelical truth is

often heard from sacerdotal lips. Like Pusey, who said, "I love the Evangelicals," he never failed to recognize their piety, and gladly would have gone with them as far as they would have allowed. What he feared was not their positive teaching, but their negations; while he shrank from what appeared to him unreality, and a touch of presumption in certain of their phrases.

VI.

CONTROVERSY.

The great controversies in which Keble found himself constrained to take a part, have all, it may be said with reverence, been overruled for the good of the Church, in directing men's thoughts to the great truths which were impugned, in removing accretions and unnecessary inferences on the one side, and prejudices and ignorance on the other. Who can doubt that the main result of the Gorham controversy, instead of opening the door for an influx of clergy into the Church, who denied Baptismal Regeneration, was to lead multitudes of men and women to know and to accept the Church's teaching on the subject; that the discussion and the anxiety, caused by these heated disputes, bore some good fruit in restraining and balancing the truth attacked, which has now taken its proper place in "the proportion of faith"? The exaggerations of its defenders in the direction of a kind of Novatianism have been checked; the need of supplementing the doctrine by the teaching of conversion and repentance in a Catholic sense, together with the

proper revival of Confession and Absolution, have done not a little to make it impossible for the reproach brought against it, as a "soul-destroying doctrine," to have even a shade of justification. So with the excitement that was aroused in connection with "Essays and Reviews," the doctrine of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, as commonly held, was certainly not free from a narrow spirit; it put out of sight too much the human element, the personality of the writers, the historical development of literature; and, above all, it obliterated or obscured the office and character of the Church as the witness, keeper, and interpreter of Holy Writ. Crude ideas of the Bible were met by crude and rash criticism and speculation, which naturally provoked the zealous defence of Churchmen. The result has, to some extent, at least, been a far more reasonable conception of what Holy Scripture was intended by God to do for mankind, and also what it was not intended. And so, also, with eschatology: the coarse and repellent statements of a Calvinistic theology; the practical denial of any intermediate state between death and the final judgment; brought about a dangerous reaction, which seemed to sweep away all wholesome fear of God as One who "will by no means clear the guilty," and of all retribution, as the inevitable and natural result of unrepented sin. Privy Council judgments may have been more or less lax interpretations of the Church's doctrine, latitudinarian, if not cynical, in spirit; but the issue of the controversy has been to clear men's minds, to a great extent, of exaggerated ideas, begotten of language unauthorized by the Catholic

Church, and to check too free a speculation on what has not been revealed to us concerning the future state. Of the Eucharistic controversies that arose out of the Denison and Forbes trials, and, later on, out of the Bennett case, it is not too much to say that there never was a time like the present day, since the great upheaval of the sixteenth century, when so large a number of English Churchmen have been willing to accept, in their plain and literal sense, the words of the Catechism, which state that "the inward part or thing signified" in the Holy Eucharist is the "Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."

Above all, it is undoubtedly owing to the character, to the devoted, prayerful life of men like Keble, the reverent restrained language they have used, that multitudes, who would have been repelled by teaching concerning the Sacraments, as if it were substituting trust in rites and ceremonies for faith in a Divine Person, have been led to see that the centre of the doctrine and worship of the Oxford School, as indeed of the Church of England, and of the whole Catholic Church, is none other than the living and Eternal Son of God, Incarnate, Crucified, Risen, and Ascended, ever present in His Church, His Word, and His Sacraments.

HIS PRIVATE MINISTRATIONS.

Another point must be noticed, and that is, that in Keble's private ministrations and in his dealing with souls, whether by letter or in actual confession, he never failed to observe the same unfailing realization that it is Christ, and Christ only, who upholds the priest in his delicate, responsible

and sacred office; and that as regards the penitent, nothing can remove from him his own spiritual responsibility. As has been well said on this point: "The fear of the priest enslaving the spirit of an English yeoman or peasant seems to him foolish and unreal." [1]

His faithful spiritual guidance was characterized by no little shrewd common sense, combined with a gentleness and kindness which could not fail to encourage and inspire. While always keeping himself in the background, and ever depreciating his own powers and fitness as a guide, in a manner that might seem to some to savour of unreality, he never shrank from giving clear and definite counsel on the points laid before him. The devotional books he recommended for private use were all by well-known English writers (and he certainly did not send his penitents to Roman authors for help), Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Andrewes, Law, Kettlewell, and, above all, Bishop Wilson. For the latter he had the most profound veneration and affection. The life that he wrote of this saintly man was a work and labour of love. His personal piety, his keen sense of responsibility in the matter of the Church's discipline, his simplicity and unworldliness appealed strongly to one who resembled him in many particulars. He concluded the book in the following words: "Of Bishop Wilson's work, his living and breathing qualities, the patient reader may have formed some estimate from the preceding pages. Of his writings and their influence I suppose all who know them will agree that, if ever there was an author of

LIFE OF BISHOP WILSON.

[1] W. Lock, "John Keble," p. 210.

whom it might be truly said, 'He never penned a sentence that savoured of unreality,' Bishop Wilson was the man; that, if simplicity and pathetic earnestness and watchful sympathy with all men, tempered by an unfailing vein of practical good sense, do yet in any degree characterize the teaching and devotion, especially the household devotion of our clergy and laity,—if veneration for the universal Church and unreserved faith in the Bible do yet in any degree prevail in our popular theology—to him, perhaps, more than to any single divine of later days, with the one exception of his great contemporary, Bishop Butler, are these good effects owing. What more of spiritual good it may have pleased God by his instrumentality to bring to pass for those of his own time, for us, and for our children, this (if I may adopt a very sacred form of speech), 'we know not now, but if we be found worthy, we shall know hereafter.'"[1] These words might, with very little alteration, be applied to the life and character of him who wrote them.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

Of Keble's personal appearance, as well as of his character, his biographers may well make Newman's question their own, "How shall I profess to paint a man who will not sit for his picture?" The reverent gestures in church, the eager brightness in conversation cannot be reproduced, and the photographic pictures of him are altogether disappointing. There are two portraits which hand down his personal appearance to posterity: both are by George Richmond —one taken in 1843, in water-colour, a three-quarter

[1] J. Keble, "Life of Bishop Wilson," vol. ii., p. 971.

length; the other a crayon drawing of the head, taken shortly before his death. His friend, Coleridge, says of them, "In the earlier he has some of the merry defiance he could assume in argument; in the latter I see the sad tenderness of his advanced years."[1]

Dr. Lock, quoting Mozley and Pusey, speaks of the head as "one of the most beautifully formed heads in the world," the face plain featured, with an unshapely mouth, "redeemed by a bright smile" and "clear, brilliant, penetrating eyes," "lighting up quickly with bright merriment, or kindling with fire in a moment of indignation."[2]

LAST DAYS.

Keble's later days brought some trials in the loss of his sister Elizabeth, and in the delicate state of his wife's health, and in the consequent necessary absences from his beloved flock at Hursley. He visited Penzance and Bournemouth at different times; and, early in the year 1866, when, staying at the latter place, he was watching by his wife's sick bed, and daily expecting her death, he was himself struck down with a second stroke of paralysis. After a week's illness, during which he was constant in prayer and ejaculation, he passed away on March 29th. He was buried at Hursley on April 6th. The Holy Eucharist was celebrated at an early hour. There were present at the funeral, Bishops Moberly of Salisbury and Forbes of Brechin, Mr. Butler of Wantage, Lord Nelson, Sir W. Heathcote, Miss Yonge, and many others, to do honour

DEATH.

FUNERAL.

[1] "Life," p. 561.

[2] Lock, "John Keble," p. 237.

at the last to the "sweet Psalmist of the English Church." Dean Church has beautifully described the scene at which he was present, sitting with Dean Hook and Lord Blachford on a school-children's bench at the back of the Church. "It was more like a festival than anything else, though there was black and white about. But the sun and the fresh, keen air, and the flowers just coming out, and the beauty of the place and the church, and the completeness of that which had come to its last stage here, put all the ordinary thoughts of sorrow, not aside, but in a distinctly subordinate place." [1]

VII.

REAL CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT AND ITS LEADERS.

Such was the real prime mover of the Oxford Movement. Recently a strange caricature of its history has been given to the world. Its distortion of facts and its strange fables would be monstrous if they were not ludicrous. Of the Tractarians Jowett has said, "They derived their influence chiefly from their regardlessness of themselves and of their own interests, a gift which, in times of apathy and indifference to religion, alone possesses the power of recalling men to it." To charge the three great leaders of it with a conspiracy betrays an absolute misconception of their characters and acts. A love of truth pursued at all costs, a courage determined openly to face opposition rather than be unfaithful to Divine

[1] 'Life and Letters," p. 172.

callings, appears in all three. Of their characters and motives, T. B. Mozley has recorded, "There had never been seen at Oxford, indeed seldom anywhere, so large and noble a sacrifice of the most precious gifts and power to sacred causes. The men who were devoting themselves to it were not bred for the work or from one school. They were not literary toilers or adventurers glad of a chance, or veterans ready to take to one cause as lightly as to another, equally zealous to do their duty, and equally indifferent to the form. They were not men of common rank casting a die for promotion. They were not levies or conscripts, but in every sense volunteers."[1]

What Dean Church has written of one particular action, the publication of "Froude's Remains," is true of their whole conduct: "It was not the act of cunning conspirators; it was the act of men who were ready to show their hands, and take the consequences."[2]

Newman, as he himself has revealed to us in his "Apologia," took a path which led him far apart from the other two in the bitterest agony of a conscience that we may consider wrongly informed, but which he followed at the risk of sacrificing all that was dearest to his heart. Pusey suffered detraction, suspicion, and enforced silence, with consummate patience, dignity, and charity, waiting for that day of recognition which came partially in life and shone out radiantly around his grave, when he was laid to rest in Christ Church. Keble, who might have graced the highest posts in the

[1] "Reminiscences," vol. i., p. 447.
[2] "Oxford Movement," p. 43.

Church and the University, lived contentedly, nay, with a kind of sober joyousness, in a remote vicarage, patiently hoping, fervently praying for the coming day of better things for the Church of God in this land. This is not the temper, nor the attitude of conspirators, unless their conspiracy were that of a divinely given longing, and an unselfish toiling for the well-being of that spiritual mother, the Church of England, for which they suffered not a little.

RESULTS OF THE MOVEMENT.

It remains to add a few words concerning the fruits of the Oxford Movement so far as they are at present apparent. Speaking generally, it may be said that the whole level of Church life and work has been raised enormously since that notable day in 1833, when Keble like a prophet blew the trumpet with no "uncertain sound." If we were to judge merely by external evidence the difference is immeasurable. The very aspect of our churches and cathedrals has been marvellously transformed. Dignity and reverence have taken the place of dull, mean, and careless treatment of the Houses of God. The services of the Church have, as has been said, been made interesting. But they may be, with greater truth, described as rendered inspiring and inspired with a new sense of what Divine worship means. A loftier standard of clerical work and life has been realized. A new element has taken possession of the Anglican Church in the foundation and extension of religious communities. Missions among the poor at home have multiplied and exhibited a spirit of sacrifice and love for souls that will never be forgotten when the name of Charles Lowder

and others like him are recalled. The whole conception of parochial life and organization has been newly created under the inspiration of this movement. The duties and work of the Episcopate have been, to use Dean Burgon's phrase, "remodelled," and Hook and Wilberforce owed much more to the Oxford Tracts than perhaps they would have allowed, that they were able to become the standard-bearers in this onward progress. The Church's growth at home is paralleled if not exceeded by the enormous expansion of the Anglican Church abroad. The few scattered Indian and Colonial sees that existed in 1840, have grown into vast, highly organized, ecclesiastical provinces in America, the West Indies, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. Education, elementary, secondary and higher, has received fuller and ever increasing attention at the hands of the Church who, long before any national system of education had been devised, had taken care not to leave her children in ignorance even of the knowledge of temporal as well as spiritual things. Preaching has emerged from the cold formality of the moral essay, and special efforts ike parochial missions, retreats, and quiet days are evidences of the deepened, spiritual life of clergy and people. Some might venture to criticize the claim of the Oxford Movement for all this great and wonderful advance. But it cannot be denied that the onward progress of the Movement is coincident with the coming into being one after another of all these new efforts after spiritual life. What may be said without fear of contradiction is that doctrines, principles, and practices that sixty years ago were regarded with

suspicious horror, are now proclaimed from the highest places as the rightful heritage of the Church of England. One instance will suffice to illustrate what is meant. The first Tract that was issued, and others that followed claimed for the English Church, the Apostolic succession, the sacerdotal character of the ministry, the Eucharistic Sacrifice. We have lived to see these truths defended before the whole Catholic Church, by the two Archbishops of the Church of England. One well qualified to pass in review the changes that have come over the Church during the last seventy years has written as follows: "It is no longer with her as it was in the eighteenth century—and God forbid it should ever be so again—when her clergy were the companions of the peers and the gentry, as magistrates in the bench of justice and as sportsmen in the hunting-field; when she found no immediate occasion to look into her title deeds, for she rested on possession and on quietude. In that less tranquil but nobler form of existence which she is now called to sustain, she has to extricate her own religious history from the civil broils, from the economical and literary devastations, from the great national to-and-fro of the sixteenth century; and to show the world whether, along with an external material and legal framework that is unquestioned, she has derived herself as a religious society in historical continuity from the ancient Church of the country, or whether, as her opponents may charge, she is a construction of lath and plaster set up, in mean and futile imitation, by the side of the solid, majestic structure of the Middle Ages."[1]

[1] W. E. Gladstone, "Later Gleanings," p. 161.

And again "in this character (as a Christian layman) the writer has viewed with profound and thankful satisfaction, during the last half-century and more, the progressive advance of a great work of restoration in Christian doctrine. It has not been wholly confined within his own country, to the Anglican Communion, but it is best that he should speak of that which has been most under his eye. Within these limits, it has not been confined to doctrine, but has extended to Christian life and all its workings. The aggregate result has been that it has brought the Church of England from a state externally of halcyon calm, but, inwardly, of deep stagnation, to one in which, while buffeted more or less by external storms, subjected to some peculiar and searching forms of trial, and even now by no means exempt from internal dissensions, she sees her clergy transformed (for this is the word which may advisedly be used), her vital energies enlarged and still growing in every direction, and a store of bright hopes accumulated that she may be able to contribute her share, and even possibly no mean share, towards the consummation of the work of the gospel, in the world." [1]

It cannot be denied that, from time to time, mistakes have been made, checks have been experienced and failures have occurred. To say this is only to say that the movement, like all similar passages in the history of the Church, has been directed by fallible human instruments, and has dealt with the material of our fallen humanity. Shall this movement pursue its course

[1] W. E. Gladstone, "Later Gleanings," p. 408.

to the final goal of a completely revived Church with restored discipline, regained liberty of legislation, of a nation recovered to the Apostolic faith and order of primitive times? If this is to be so, English Church people must not let slip their hold upon the devotion, self-discipline, and obedience to Church principles that were the guiding rules of its first leaders. We need the charity, the tenderness, the courage, the self-repression of John Keble to save our age from the catastrophe that, on the one hand, may result from a wilfulness that leads to ecclesiastical anarchy, and, on the other, from a colourless undenominationalism that would leave no fragments of the Catholic faith worth contending for. But we also need something of that calm, patient hope that seemed lacking in Newman, and gained from Pusey that wondering admiration, which he more than once expressed, when he saw it in Keble. Hope founded on the struggles and victories of the past, and on the certainty of the Divine triumph in the future, is the great lesson of the life and work of John Keble.

KEBLE COLLEGE.

It has been said with no little truth that there are two ecclesiastical buildings that have been erected in recent times which are symbolical of the vitality and permanence of the English Church. One is Truro Cathedral, the other is Keble College. It will be sufficient to indicate the first as a proof, in a utilitarian age, that English Churchmen can vie with their forefathers in dedicating a splendid sanctuary to the worship of Almighty God, and thus can claim fellowship with the ancient Church in faith and worship, and in that spirit of heroic venture which springs from

a real grasp of "the things which are not seen" which "are eternal." But it is Keble College which concerns us now. This great foundation has already justified its creation as a memorial of John Keble. Critics may differ as to the architectural merits of the building. Some will regret that so great a departure from the traditions of Oxford was made in the general character and details of the design, and in the material selected—brick instead of stone. The chapel, perhaps, more than any other part of the group of buildings, differs from the usual type seen in Oxford colleges. The arrangement of the seating is a departure from the choral plan so familiar in all collegiate churches or chapels. Most persons agree, too, with Dr. Pusey as to the unfortunate attempt to realize in the reredos the symbolism of the Apocalypse. But the great college, taken as a whole, is a splendid monument, and has called forth many and generous offerings. An immense number of gifts, small and large, sent from all parts of the world by devoted admirers of "The Christian Year" and its venerated author, served to raise the first part of the fabric. The chapel, hall, and library were erected by the munificence of well-known benefactors—the Gibbs of Tyntesfield. The college has already gathered round it great names and memories. It has a full list already of worthy sons, in its first three wardens, Talbot, Wilson and Lock, and its tutors, Bishops Jayne and Mylne, Aubrey Moore, and Illingworth. It has trained for thirty years a large number of students. It has a splendid end to serve throughout all time. It was planted in Oxford at a time when the destinies of the Church in that

University seemed to tremble in the balance. It was built, not only as a monument of loving homage to a venerated personality, but as a distinct claim in that city and University for the permanence and extension of "the faith once for all delivered to the saints," of which Keble was so humble and yet so inspired a champion."

"The days will come, I suppose," says Dr. Liddon—"if, indeed, they have not yet come—when young men, looking at these buildings, will ask the question, 'Who was Keble?' To have made it inevitable that that question should be asked by successive generations of Oxford students is to have added to the moral wealth of the world. For the answer to that question cannot but do good to the man who asks it. It is not high station, or commanding wealth, or great public exploits, or wide popularity of opinions, which will explain the foundation of the college—raised as it is to the memory of a quiet country clergyman, with a very moderate income, who sedulously avoided public distinctions, and held tenaciously to an unpopular school all his life. Keble College is a witness to the homage which goodness, carried into the world of thought, or, indeed, into any sphere of activity, extorts from all of us, when we are fairly placed face to face with it; it is a proof that neither station, nor wealth, nor conspicuousness, nor popularity is the truest and ultimate test of greatness. True greatness is to be recognized in character; and in a place like this, character is largely, if not chiefly, shaped by the degree in which moral qualities are brought to bear upon the activities of mind. The more

men really know of him who, being dead, has, in virtue of the rich gifts and grace with which God had endowed him, summoned this college into being, the less will they marvel at such a tribute to his profound and enduring influence." [1]

[1] "Clerical Life and Work," "John Keble," pp. 353, 354.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

I.

AMONG the principal qualifications for successful leadership in any great movement, and especially a great religious movement, must be reckoned a profound conviction of the reality of a Divine vocation. And, this implies a vivid consciousness of God's Personality, and of the soul's relation to the Supreme Being. Certainly this essential qualification was apparent, even at an early age, in the experience of John Henry Newman, the leader of the greatest religious movement of the nineteenth century, if not of the whole epoch since the great spiritual upheaval of the sixteenth century. From the time of his boyhood, under the influence of a loving and religious mother, he learned to "rest in the thought of two, and two only, absolute and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator." When he was fifteen he passed through a great spiritual experience, and from that date he reckoned his "conversion." He even then began to realize that "it would be the will of God that I should lead a single life." In later days he felt strangely that he was being definitely guided by the Divine Hand. In the year 1832, during his tour on the Continent, the sense of a great mission intrusted to him was constantly pressing into his mind and finding remarkable expression in his spoken and written words.

There can be no doubt that from first to last, throughout all the phases of his religious development, he never wavered in his clear conviction that God had called him to live and work for His glory.

EARLY LIFE.

He was born in London on February 21, 1801. His father, Mr. John Newman, was a banker who was obliged to close his doors, through no fault of his own, in 1815. His mother was a devout woman of Huguenot extraction and of moderate Calvinist views, and from her he learnt that faith in God, which he has described in his "Grammar of Assent" as so real in children. "First it involves the impression on his mind of an unseen Being with whom he is in immediate relation, and that relation so familiar that he can address Him whenever he himself chooses; next of One whose good will towards him he is assured of, and can take for granted—nay, who loves him better and is nearer to him, than his parents; further, of One who can hear him, wherever he happens to be, and who can read his thoughts, for his prayer need not be vocal; lastly, of One who can effect a critical change in the state of feelings of others towards him." [1]

His mother implanted in him a delight in the Bible. T. B. Mozley tells us, "It would hardly be too much to say that he knew the whole Bible by heart." [2] She also taught him to value Scott's "Commentary." From this writer he learned two great principles: "Holiness before Peace," and "Growth the only Evidence of Life." [3] Law's

[1] "Grammar of Assent," p. 112. [2] "Reminiscences," vol. i., p. 13.
[3] Scott's portrait was still to be seen in Newman's room at the Birmingham Oratory up to the end of his life.

"Serious Call" made a deep impression on his mind, especially on the question of eternal punishment; and Milner's "Church History," while "it stained his imagination with the idea that the Church of Rome is anti-Christ,"[1] gave him an admiration for the early Fathers, and the first germs of the ecclesiastical idea of Christianity. His home was a happy one, and with affectionate parents and congenial sisters he grew up a sensitive, thoughtful boy, fond of music and poetry.

SCHOOL.

At the age of seven he went to a school at Ealing, under the Rev. G. Nicholas, where he remained eight years and a half, and, before he was sixteen, was entered at Trinity College, Oxford, where, in 1818, he gained an open scholarship. At first he felt somewhat out of harmony with Oxford life, but his friendship with John William Bowden and the increasing kindness of the Rev. Thomas Short, so long remembered as tutor of Trinity, soon removed much of his difficulties, though throughout his University life he always remained a shy and reserved man. He was most diligent in his reading: he writes, "During twenty out of the twenty-four weeks, immediately preceding my examination, I fagged at an average more than twelve hours a day; if one day I read only nine, the next day I read fifteen."[2] But the result was a great disappointment, and to no one more than to himself. He was placed "below the line" in the second class. His failure was mainly due to beginning his University life so young, and to overtaxing his powers by excessive work. He

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

THE CLASS LIST.

[1] "Apologia," p. 7.

[2] "Life and Letters," vol. i., p. 44.

remained up at Oxford for several years on his Trinity scholarship, and, on consulting Mr. Short and other friends, he determined to stand for a vacant fellowship at Oriel. The elections at this college had more than once startled the University; a second class man, in 1821, was preferred to one whose name stood in the first class. The same result was seen on the occasion of Newman's competition; for, in spite of his previous lack of success, his papers so impressed the Provost and Fellows that, before the examination was over, they made careful inquiries as to his antecedents and character. Newman himself tells us how Mr. Short encouraged him, when he was on the point of retiring, to persevere in his examination, with kindly words "at a luncheon of lamb chops and fried parsley." He also has recorded the amusing scene when the Provost's butler, who brought the news of his election to Newman's lodging, found him "fiddling." He continued his music after the message had been delivered; but, no sooner had the messenger disappeared, than he rushed from the Broad Street to Oriel, among the eager bows of tradesmen who had just heard the news.[1]

FELLOW OF ORIEL.

Newman found himself now raised from obscurity and need to become the associate of Keble, "the first man in Oxford," and Hawkins and Whately, who were soon to be joined by Pusey. He set himself to work to improve his scholarship, which had hitherto been his weakest point. It is said Newman never let a day pass without composing at least one sentence in Latin. Provost

[1] "Life and Letters," vol. i., pp. 71, 72.

Copleston said of him, "He was not even a good classical scholar, yet in mind and power of composition, and in taste and knowledge, he was decidedly superior to some competitors who were a class above him in the school." He did some considerable work as tutor, and was very successful with his pupils; but he had strong aspirations after spiritual work, which took shape in his Ordination, on Trinity Sunday, 1824, and his appointment as Curate of St. Clement's Church, Oxford. The Church was about to be rebuilt, and the spiritual life of the parish needed revival. It is interesting to lovers of church architecture to note that Newman himself states, that "he had no part whatever in determining its architectural character, it was entirely in the hands of a committee."[1] Many years after, the building was known, at any rate to undergraduates, by the disparaging title of the "Boiled Rabbit." Newman was ordained Priest in May, 1825. He laboured indefatigably among the poor. He had set himself a very high standard of pastoral work, and house-to-house visitation was most diligently carried out, with the result that he became known and universally loved throughout the parish. All this time he was still busily engaged in college work, and, besides actively occupied in collecting subscriptions for the church building, he had begun to write for reviews and magazines—with so much ability that, as early as November, 1824, he received the offer of election to the Athenæum Club, which he declined. His sermons were already beginning to be appreciated, and he had laid not a little of the foundations of his future

CURATE OF ST. CLEMENT'S.

[1] "Life and Letters," vol. i., p. 113.

influence as a spiritual guide. It was during these years that, as he himself has told us, he underwent a great change in his religious opinions. The Oriel common room, with its remarkable freedom from narrowness, its brilliant conversation and keen logical discussion, its vigorous energy, and serious sense of responsibility, attracted and moulded him in many ways. But various separate members of the college influenced him very deeply in theological and spiritual matters. Newman, years afterwards, referred to the blessing of the "long friendship and example" which he received from Pusey, whose "humility and love for God and man" deeply impressed him at this time. Hawkins, then Vicar of St. Mary's, taught him many very important doctrines. He was a clear-headed thinker and a good parish Priest. His criticism of Newman's first sermon led to the latter directing his attention to, and afterwards accepting, Baptismal Regeneration, and ultimately that of Catholic Tradition, first brought before his notice by reading Sumner's "Apostolic Teaching," given him by Hawkins. While he had held from the first, in his early boyhood, the fundamental doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and Predestination, from this time he more and more withdrew from the Lutheran and Evangelical view of Justification. He came into close contact with Dr. Whately, whose well-known "Treatise on Logic" was based upon notes and essays prepared by Newman under Whately's directions, and revised and enlarged by him. In 1825 Dr. Whately was appointed Principal of St. Alban's Hall, and

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.

VICE-PRINCIPAL OF ST. ALBAN'S HALL.

he invited Newman to be his Vice-principal. This office he only retained for a year, and in 1826 he was appointed public tutor of Oriel College, when he resigned his position at St. Alban's Hall, and his curacy of St. Clement's. He remained tutor of his college for six years; and from his journal we learn that he formed a very high estimate of the religious nature of his office, and endeavoured to bring a higher tone into the relation of tutor and pupil. His efforts to check extravagance, especially among the gentlemen commoners, and his protest against irreverent and formal Communions as part of the college discipline, created some soreness between himself and the higher authorities. This developed later into a serious difference between himself and Provost Hawkins, whose views of the duty of a college tutor were greatly at variance with his own. Newman positively declined to act as a don or martinet, or mere intellectual lecturer, or "academical policeman or constable,"[1] and desired to be in reality a moral and religious guardian of the youths committed to him. He considered that his position was given to him that he might gain souls to God. It is somewhat strange that Newman did not recognize how entirely at one Keble was with him in this view of the work of a college tutor, until it was too late, after Hawkins had by his vote and Pusey's been elected to the office of Provost. If the election had fallen on Keble there is much reason for believing that the future history of Oriel College would have been very different from what it has been since that time; certainly the

TUTOR OF ORIEL.

[1] "Life and Letters," vol. i., p. 154.

conception of what a college tutor ought to be, as it existed in the mind of Dr. Hawkins, has not secured for that distinguished college such a series of academical successes as might have been expected from the promise of these years. And yet what Oriel lost proved to be the gain of the Church at large. For Newman himself has said, "In the year after his relinquishing his tutorship, on his return from abroad, the Tract movement began; humanly speaking, that movement never would have been had he not been deprived of his tutorship, or had Keble, not Hawkins, been Provost."[1]

II.

In 1827 Newman was appointed examiner, and in 1828 Vicar of St. Mary's. Of this great event in his life he says, "It was to me like the feeling of spring weather after winter, and if I may so speak, I came out of my shell: I remained out of it until 1841."[2] About this time Whately's influence over him grew less and less, as Newman grew more and more attracted by what was spiritual than by what was merely intellectual. Among other books mastered by him at this period was Bishop Butler's "Analogy of Religion," the study of which was an era in his religious opinions. Two principles impressed themselves upon him as the result of this study of Butler—the "Sacramental aspect of nature," and "probability as a guide of life." But perhaps the personal influence of Keble

VICAR OF ST. MARY.

[1] "Life and Letters," vol. i., p. 160. [2] "Apologia," p. 16.

directly, and indirectly through Hurrell Froude, had even more effect upon him than the writings of any man or school. The Catholic Church with its hierarchy, its Saints, its great Pattern of Virginity, its practices of penance and mortification, its teaching on the Real Presence, were vividly realized and vehemently and courageously expressed by Hurrell Froude. But Newman himself was led to the investigation of the doctrines of the Primitive Church through his study of Bishop Bull, and this induced him to write his history of the Arians—a very careful and elaborate work, though it has been said that "it displays little of the literary skill of his later writings, being dry almost to grittiness."[1] It was in the main a vindication of the Alexandrian School of Theology from all direct responsibility for the Arian heresy, and revealed the confidence that Newman felt in dogma as the backbone of religion.

FOREIGN TOUR.

In December, 1832, he started from Falmouth with his friends Archdeacon Froude and Hurrell, on a prolonged foreign tour. He sailed by Lisbon to Gibraltar, and thence to Malta, and the Ionian Isles, Naples and Rome. It was here that he met Dr. Wiseman, afterwards Cardinal and "Archbishop of Westminster." Newman was much impressed by the services and ceremonial of the Eternal City, but his heart was full of England: and the thought that he had a mission held such possession of his mind, that, when he took leave of Wiseman, who expressed a hope that they might pay a second visit to Rome before they returned, he said with great gravity, as he declined the

[1] R. H. Hutton, "Cardinal Newman," p. 26.

invitation, "We have a work to do in England."[1] Newman went to Sicily, where, as he says, the presentiment grew stronger; and when he was very seriously ill of fever, in the heart of the island, and his servant asked him for his last instructions, he said, "I shall not die; I have not sinned against the light:"[2] for, as he afterwards explained, "I thought God had work for me." Anxious to reach home as soon as he was fit to travel, he got on board, at Palermo, an orange boat, bound for Marseilles; it was then that he wrote the lines, "Lead, kindly Light," which have since become so well known. Throughout his foreign tour he had been writing many verses, amongst them those on "Abraham," "Moses," "The Church of Rome," "The Isles of the Sirens," "Absolution," "The Greek Fathers." These have been collected in the "Lyra Apostolica," and of them it has been said, "For grandeur of outline, purity of taste, and radiancy of total effect, I know hardly any short poems in the language that equal them."[3]

"LYRA APOSTOLICA."

The result of his foreign tour, though it in some respects diminished his horror of Romanism, yet did not remove from his mind the impression that the Continental Church was in a sadly degraded condition, and confirmed him in his views of the Church of England as a Divine society. Hurrell Froude, though himself far less prejudiced against Rome than Newman, wrote of the Roman Catholic system in Sicily as follows:—

"The Church of England has fallen low, and will

[1] "Apologia," p. 34. [2] Ibid.
[3] R. H. Hutton, "Cardinal Newman," p. 44.

probably be worse before it is better; but let the Whigs do their worst, they cannot sink us so deep as these people have allowed themselves to fall while retaining all the superficials of a religious country."[1]

What was in the minds of the two friends as to the great work before them, was strikingly expressed in the motto that they chose for the "Lyra Apostolica;" "You shall know the difference now that I am come back again"—the words of Achilles when he returned to the battle.

"From the long illness, fever, and consequent weakness in Sicily, the solitude of the sea, and the sudden journey, there followed at once the plunge into the Movement. . . . Mr. Newman landed in England at a critical moment: it was the moment when the fears for the Church which had long been growing, and which arose not merely from the designs avowed or surmised of her enemies, but from the helplessness of her friends, had led at length to the resolution in a few brave and zealous men to speak out and to act."[2]

KEBLE'S ASSIZE SERMON.

On July 13, 1833, Keble preached his famous Assize Sermon, and in the same month the well-known meeting at Hadleigh took place, and resulted in the commencement of the "Tracts for the Times." There had been some idea of forming a kind of union or association, and of presenting an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the dangers that seemed to be gathering round the Church. But the Movement began by Newman issuing the early Tracts,

[1] Froude's "Remains," vol. i., p. 294.
[2] "Letters of J. H. Newman," vol. i., p. 431.

with the approval and help of Keble and Froude, while Palmer and Perceval were doubtful as to the wisdom of issuing them, and were anxious and nervous as to the effect they might produce. Newman was active in calling upon clergy in various parts of the country, in writing letters to others, and, in fact, taking a lead in what was undoubtedly understood to be a new and important movement. He has recorded the buoyant confidence and vehement energy that possessed him at this period of his life, so full of real happiness; and he says of this time, "I had the consciousness that I was employed in that work which I was dreaming about, and which I felt to be so momentous and inspiring; I had a supreme confidence in our cause. We were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies, and by the Anglican divines."[1]

The subject dealt with by the earliest of the Tracts was the Apostolical Succession in the Church of England. "I am but one of yourselves," it began, addressing "respectfully" the clergy:—"a Presbyter, . . . yet speak I must." It bade them support the Bishops and their rights as "Successors of the Apostles," assert and claim "our Apostolical descent. . . ." "Choose your side. To remain neuter much longer will be itself to take a part."[2] This was followed by others on the Liturgy, on the Visible Church; a series entitled "Richard Nelson," which gave, in the form of

"TRACTS FOR THE TIMES."

[1] "Apologia," p. 43.

[2] "Tracts for the Times," No. 1.

a dialogue, instruction on such subjects as the Athanasian Creed, and on the meaning of the Church Service. There were also others on mortification, and fasting; the neglect of discipline; extracts from English divines like Bishop Beveridge, Bishop Wilson, and Bishop Cosin; translations from the early Fathers—Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and others. The first and the greater number of the early Tracts were written by Newman himself, though Keble, Froude, Palmer and Perceval assisted; while zealous helpers distributed them from parsonage to parsonage. Dean Church has described the effect they produced. "The early Tracts were intended to startle the world, and they succeeded in doing so; . . . they brought strange things to the ears of their generation; . . . they were novelties, partly audacious, partly unintelligible then; they fell upon a time of profound and inexcusable ignorance on the subjects they discussed, and they did not spare it. The cry of Romanism was inevitable, and was soon raised, though there was absolutely nothing in them but had the indisputable sanction of the Prayer-book, and of the most authoritative Anglican divines. There was no Romanism in them, nor anything that showed a tendency to it."[1]

The doctrine that apparently aroused the greatest opposition was the assertion of the Holy Catholic Church as the depository of the Faith, and the teacher of the Divine revelation. And it must be remembered that this was the very doctrine that had been already foretold as likely to create most serious opposition when

[1] Dean Church, "History of the Oxford Movement," pp. 119, 120.

reasserted. The Rev. W. J. Copeland has recorded the very remarkable prediction of Mr. Sikes, Rector of Guilsborough, a representative and leader of the old High Church Party. He declared that "the Church has been kept out of sight, partly in consequence of the civil establishment of the Branch of it in this country, and partly out of false charity to Dissent. Now, this great truth is an Article in the Creed, and, if so, to teach the rest of the Creed to its exclusion must be to destroy the analogy or proportion of the faith. This cannot be done without the most serious consequences. The doctrine is of the last importance, and the principles it involves of immense power, and some day not far distant it will judicially have its reprisals. . . . Our present confusion is chiefly owing to the want of it, and there will be yet more confusion attending its revival. The effects of it I even dread to contemplate, especially if it comes suddenly, and woe betide those, whoever they are, who shall in the course of Providence have to bring it forward."[1]

But while there was opposition to the Tracts in many directions, there was also a remarkable expression of sympathy and interest from a very large number of clergy and laity. It was felt that the fomentors of the troubles and dangers that surrounded the Church were not going to be allowed to have their way, without some effort to withstand them on the part of her sons. Much enthusiasm was aroused, and sanguine expectation excited. There can be no doubt that there was still latent in the Church of England much real belief

[1] "Letters of J. H. Newman," vol. ii., pp. 483, 484.

in the Catholic foundations of her faith and worship. And though it might be true, as Newman says, that when an Anglican Bishop read the first Tract on "Apostolical Succession" he was "uncertain in his mind whether he held the doctrine or not,"[1] yet multitudes of the English clergy gladly responded to the call to base their trust in their spiritual Mother on her Apostolic and Catholic origin, and not on the accidental advantages of her temporal position.

DR. PUSEY'S ADHESION.

At the close of 1833, Newman felt that the Tracts already published were "short, hasty, and some of them ineffective;"[2] and he was therefore greatly delighted when, in December of that year, Dr. Pusey joined in the work with a Tract on "Fasting." Newman called him ὁ μέγας, on account of his learning and religious devotion. His position as Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, his family connections and personal influence brought great strength to the Movement. He signed his initials to his first Tract on "Fasting," and, later on, published his elaborate Tract on "Baptism," and the first beginnings of the "Library of the Fathers." Pusey, like Keble, was henceforth to Newman a cherished friend and counsellor.

[1] "Apologia," p. 44. [2] Ibid., p. 60.

III.

All this time, since 1828, Newman had been exercising a very powerful and remarkable influence through his sermons at St. Mary's, Parochial and University. It is possible, even after the lapse of more than sixty years, to form a very adequate estimate of this influence, not only from the sermons themselves, which so happily have been preserved, but from the recorded experience of not a few of those who heard them delivered. James Mozley said, "A sermon of Mr. Newman's enters into all our feelings, ideas, modes of viewing things. He wonderfully realizes a state of mind, enters into a difficulty, a temptation, a disappointment, a grief; he goes into the different turns and incidental, unconscious symptoms of a case, with notions which come into the head and go out again, and are forgotten till some chance recalls them."[1] . . . Professor Shairpe tells us, "His power showed itself chiefly in the new and unlooked-for way in which he touched into life old truths, moral or spiritual, which all Christians acknowledge, but most have ceased to feel; when he spoke of 'unreal words,' of the 'individuality of the soul,' of the 'invisible world,' of a 'particular Providence,' or, again, of the 'ventures of faith,' 'warfare the condition of victory,' 'the Cross of Christ the measure of the world,' 'the Church a home for the lonely.' And as he spoke,

SERMONS AT ST. MARY'S.

[1] *Christian Remembrancer*, Jan., 1846.

how the old truth became new! how it came home with a meaning never felt before! He laid his finger, how gently, yet how powerfully, on some inner place in the hearer's heart, and told him things about himself he had never known till then. Subtlest truths, which it would have taken philosophers pages of circumlocution and big words to state, were dropped out by the way in a sentence or two of the most transparent Saxon." [1]

Gladstone relates of Newman's manner in the pulpit, "There was not very much change in the inflection of the voice; action there was none. His sermons were read, and his eyes were always bent on his book, and all that, you will say, is against efficiency in preaching. Yes, but you must take the man as a whole, and there was a stamp and a seal upon him; there was a solemn sweetness and music in the tone, there was a completeness in the figure, taken together with the tone and the manner, which made even his delivery, such as I have described it, and though exclusively from written sermons, singularly attractive." [2]

J. A. Froude has called attention to his remarkable likeness as to head and face to Julius Cæsar, and said that the lines of the mouth in both were very peculiar; that both men, so outwardly similar, were also very much alike in that strange combination of an imperious temper, a clearness of intellectual perception, with a most attaching gentleness, sweetness, singleness of heart and purpose.

It would be impossible, within the limits of the

[1] Professor Shairpe, "John Keble," pp. 12, 17.

[2] Speech at City Temple, 1887.

present sketch, to give an adequate number of quotations from these remarkable sermons; but the following extract from one on "The use of religious excitement" is very characteristic.

"True it is, that all the passionate emotion or fine sensibility which ever man displayed will never by itself make us change our ways and do our duty. Impassioned thoughts, high aspirations, sublime imaginings, have no strength in them. They can no more make a man obey consistently than they can move mountains. If any man truly repent, it must be in consequence, not of these, but of a settled conviction of his guilt, and a deliberate resolution to leave his sins and serve God. Conscience, and reason in subjection to conscience, these are the powerful instruments, under grace, which change a man. But you will observe that, though conscience and reason lead us to resolve on and to attempt a new life, they cannot at once make us love it. It is long practice and habit which make us love religion; and in the beginning obedience, doubtless, is very grievous to habitual sinners. Here, then, is the use of those earnest, ardent feelings of which I spoke just now, and which attend on the first exercise of conscience and reason—to take away from the beginnings of obedience its grievousness; to give us an impulse which may carry us over the first obstacles, and send us on our way rejoicing. Not as if all this excitement of mind were to last (which cannot be); but it will do its office in thus setting us off, and then will leave us to the more sober and higher comfort resulting from that real love for religion which obedience itself will

have by that time begun to form in us, and will gradually go on to perfect."[1]

Again, how beautifully the preacher could utilize the happy experience of his own home life to show how love to God is the outcome and development, to a great extent, of a right use of our natural affections, is evident from the following words:—

"There have been men before now who have supposed Christian love was so diffusive as not to admit of concentration upon individuals, so that we ought to love all men equally. And many they are who, without bringing forward any theory, yet consider practically that the love of many is something superior to the love of one or two, and neglect the charities of private life while busy in the schemes of an expansive benevolence, or of effecting a general union and conciliation among Christians. Now, I shall here maintain, in opposition to such notions of Christian love, and with our Saviour's pattern before me, that the best preparation for loving the world at large, and loving it duly and wisely, is to cultivate an intimate friendship and affection towards those who are immediately about us. It has been the plan of Divine Providence to ground what is good and true in religion and morals on the basis of our good natural feelings. What we are towards our earthly friends in the instincts and wishes of our infancy, such we are to become at length towards God and man in the extended field of our duties as accountable beings. To honour our parents is the first step towards honouring God; to love our brethren according to the flesh,

[1] "Parochial and Plain Sermons," vol. i., p. 114.

the first step towards considering all men our brethren. Hence our Lord says we must become as little children if we would be saved; we must become in His Church, as men, what we were once in the small circle of our youthful homes." [1]

The following quotation is from a sermon that, at the time, made a very great impression upon more than one person who heard it:—

"Let every one who hears me ask himself the question, what stake has he in the truth of Christ's promise? How would he be a whit the worse off, supposing—which is impossible—but, supposing it to fail? We know what it is to have a stake in any venture of this world. We venture our property in plans which promise a return; in plans which we trust, which we have faith in. What have we ventured for Christ? What have we given to Him on a belief of His promise? The Apostle said that he and his brethren would be of all men most miserable if the dead were not raised. Can we in any degree apply this to ourselves? We think, perhaps, at present, we have some hope of heaven: well, this we should lose of course; but, after all, how should we be worse off as to our present condition? A trader who has embarked some property in a speculation which fails, not only loses his prospect of gain, but somewhat of his own, which he ventured with the hope of the gain. This is the question. What have we ventured? I really fear, when we come to examine, it will be found that there is nothing we resolve, nothing we do, nothing we do not do, nothing we avoid, nothing we choose,

[1] "Parochial and Plain Sermons," vol. ii., p. 52.

nothing we give up, nothing we pursue which we should not resolve, and do, and not do, and avoid, and choose, and give up, and pursue if Christ had not died, and heaven were not promised for us. I really fear that most men called Christians, whatever they may profess, whatever they may think they feel, whatever warmth and illumination and love they may claim as their own, yet would go on almost as they do, neither much better nor much worse, if they believed Christianity to be a fable. When young, they indulge their lusts, or at least pursue the world's vanities; as time goes on, they get into a fair way of business, or other mode of making money; then they marry and settle; and then, interest coinciding with their duty, they seem to be, and think themselves, respectable and religious men: they grow attached to things as they are; they begin to have a zeal against vice and error; and they follow after peace with all men. Such conduct indeed, as far as it goes, is right and praiseworthy. Only I say, it has not necessarily anything to do with religion at all: there is nothing in it which is any proof of the presence of religious principles in those who adopt it; there is nothing they would not do still, though they had nothing to gain from it, except what they gain from it now: they do gain something now; they do gratify their present wishes—they are quiet and orderly, because it is their interest and taste to be so; but they *venture* nothing, they risk, they sacrifice, they abandon nothing on the faith of Christ's word."[1]

As time went on it was evident first that the religion

[1] "Parochial and Plain Sermons," vol. iv., pp. 300–302.

of the day, and the unreality of much profession of Christianity, seemed to Newman to call for trenchant and austere denunciation. But later the serious condition of the Church herself led him to dwell largely on the dangers resulting from her alliance with the State, on the need of a far higher standard of life and mortification on the part of the clergy, and on the supernatural character of the Catholic Church as the Bride of Christ. Newman undoubtedly valued and made use of all these opportunities of influencing those who came into contact with him; and he has himself stated in one of his "University Sermons" how important is the opportunity of propagating the Truth by means of personal influence. "Moreover," he says, "such considerations lead us to be satisfied with the humblest and most obscure lot; by showing us, not only that we may be the instruments of much good in it, but that (strictly speaking) we could scarcely in any situation be direct instruments of good to any besides those who personally know us, who however must form a small circle; and as to the indirect good we may do in a more exalted situation (which is by no means to be lightly esteemed), still we are not absolutely precluded from it in a lower place in the Church. Nay, it has happened before now, that comparatively retired posts have been filled by those who have exerted the most extensive influences over the destinies of religion in the time following them; as in the arts and pursuits of this world, the great benefactors of mankind are frequently unknown. Let all those, then, who acknowledge the voice of God speaking within them, and urging them heavenward,

wait patiently for the end, exercising themselves and diligently working with a view to that day when the books shall be opened, and all the disorder of human affairs reviewed and set right, when 'the last shall be first and the first last;' when 'all things that offend, and they which do iniquity,' shall be gathered out and removed; when 'the righteous shall shine forth as the sun,' and Faith shall see her God; when 'they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.'"[1]

And yet there was never in Newman anything at all akin to the spirit of the mere proselytizer. He never attempted to force men's convictions. Whatever influence came to him, it came unsought: as Dean Church has said, "The position of leader in a great crisis came to him because it must come." "Thus, the publication of the Tracts, and the preaching of the sermons together contributed to the spread of the Movement. While men were reading and talking about the Tracts, they were hearing the sermons, and in the sermons they heard the living meaning and reason and bearing of the Tracts, their ethical affinities, their moral standard. The sermons created a moral atmosphere in which men judged the questions in debate. It was no dry theological correctness and completeness which were sought for. No love of privilege, no formal hierarchical claims urged on the writers. What they thought in danger, what they aspired to revive and save, was the very life

[1] "University Sermons," iv., p. 84.

of religion, the truth and substance of all that makes it the hope of human society."[1]

IV.

In the year 1835 the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the Regius Professorship of Divinity gave rise to a very serious agitation. He was a man who, as Dean Church says, did not mean to be unorthodox and unevangelical, but in his "Bampton Lectures" had taken a line which, if logically carried out, made all dogmatic definitions of Christian doctrine uncertain, and undermined the authority and very existence of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. Newman published a pamphlet called "Elucidations of Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements." Not only did Dr. Hampden offer to resign, but remonstrances were sent from Oxford to the Prime Minister. To these no attention was paid, and the appointment was confirmed. The Tractarian Party in Oxford by no means stood alone in their opposition, for heads of houses and country parsons, Evangelicals and High Churchmen, were all greatly alarmed at the probable result of Dr. Hampden's speculations. But it became then, and afterwards, the fashion to speak of the attitude of Newman and his friends as that of persecution; and the opposition to Dr. Hampden was used as a ground for bringing a charge of bigotry against the Tractarian School. From this time forward Whately

HAMPDEN CONTROVERSY.

[1] "Oxford Movement," p. 130.

ceased to regard Newman as his friend, and declined to see him, later on, when he called upon him in Dublin.

THE VIA MEDIA.

Newman was almost compelled to meet the charges of Romanism, constantly made on all sides, in some definite and detailed shape, and the result was that he delivered and published lectures on the "Prophetical Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism," afterwards republished in the volumes entitled "The *Via Media*." This was an attempt to define accurately and theologically the Anglican position, and place it on a logical basis. It has been said that Newman's attitude of mind at this time was very much like that of a master of a vessel taking soundings in the supposed neighbourhood of land. "The lead is cast every two or three minutes, while the cry of the number of fathoms found is anxiously listened to by the ship's crew and passengers."[1]

It is doubtless true that Newman, from his early training, never had that same quiet and natural confidence in the position of the Church of England, such as existed in the minds of Pusey, and still more of Keble, who had been trained all their lives in old-fashioned High Church principles.[2] He was, therefore, keenly sensitive to the criticism that "The *Via Media*," as it was called, seemed to many minds to be nothing more than a paper theory, and an unworthy compromise;

[1] R. H. Hutton, "Cardinal Newman," p. 72.

[2] It has been said of Newman's relation to the Catholic Party in the English Church that he "passed through us without being of us" (*Christian Remembrancer*, xlviii. 169).

and it is, of course, true that the phrase, often then and since, has aroused much dislike. Yet, after all, it has always been the line taken by Anglican divines since the sixteenth century; it is the idea embodied in George Herbert's well-known poem on the British Church:—

"A fine aspect in fit array
Neither too mean, nor yet too gay,
Shows who is best:
Outlandish looks may not compare;
For all they either painted are,
Or else undrest."

* * * * * *

"But, dearest mother (what those miss),
The mean thy praise and glory is,
And long may be.
Blessed be God, whose love it was
To double-moat thee with his grace,
And none but thee."[1]

It underlies the "sober" teaching of Keble's "Christian Year," and, indeed, of the Book of Common Prayer itself.

Dean Church has truly said of "The *Via Media*," "It only answered to the certain fact, that in the early and undivided Church, there was such a thing as authority, and there was no such thing known as Infallibility. It was an appeal to the facts of history and human nature against the logical exigencies of a theory."[2]

Shortly afterwards the Anglican view of the Church set out in Newman's writings was greatly reinforced by the admirable work of Mr. W. Palmer, the author of

[1] George Herbert, "The British Church."
[2] "Oxford Movement," p. 212.

the "Origines Liturgicæ," entitled a "Treatise on the Church of Christ." This book has been justly described as "an honour to English theology and learning."[1] It commanded the respect of foreign controversialists, and of the great theologian, Dr. Döllinger. Gladstone placed a very high value upon it; and Newman himself recognized its merits, though he felt that Palmer left unanswered some Romanist objections to the Anglican position. Towards the end of 1838 some excitement was created at Oxford by the erection of the Martyrs' Memorial, mainly through the efforts of Mr. Golightly. This clergyman, who at one time had actually been suggested as a Curate to Newman at Littlemore, had become one of the most active opponents of the Tractarian Movement. Pusey was inclined to subscribe to the Memorial, in order to disarm suspicion of sympathy with Rome; but Newman, secure in his conviction that he had plainly and publicly asserted his sincere loyalty to the Anglican Church, declined to do so. This confidence of Newman's was real and sincere; neither he nor any one of his friends had any suspicion of a doubt as to his loyal attitude to the Church of England. Early in 1839 Newman published an article in the *British Critic*, which represents the high-water mark of the tide of his confidence and trust in the Anglican position. It was, in fact, what he did not realize at the time, his supreme utterance "as an Anglican to Anglicans." This came home to him later on, but at the time of writing the article, "My position," he says, "in the Anglican Church was at its

CONFIDENT POSITION.

[1] "Oxford Movement," p. 214.

height. I had a supreme confidence in my controversial status, and I had a great and still growing success in recommending it to others." He has fully described what the position he took up in the article was. It was a position claiming to be in a very true sense Catholic, to believe in a religion, "very unlike the Protestantism of the day," based upon the writings and teaching of the great Anglican writers of the seventeenth century—Bramhall, Andrewes, Hooker, Hammond, Bull, Thorndike, and Pearson. The article concluded with an appeal to English people to remove their feet from the unstable ground of so-called "orthodox Protestantism," and to return to the teaching of the divines of the English Church in the seventeenth century. "Would you fathers have your sons and your daughters members of the Church of England or of the Church of Rome?"[1] For, as he urged, if people reject the teaching of the Anglican divines, and of the present Tracts, mere Protestantism will not long prevent Rome from winning all along the line.

And yet, with all this apparent confidence, some of Newman's most intimate friends, and among them Isaac Williams, who served as Assistant Curate of Littlemore, were more or less conscious that all was not quite so secure as he himself, and the greater number of his followers, supposed. There can be no doubt that the fact of his having been the only one of the Tract writers who originally belonged to the Evangelical School, the only one who had, as it were, been obliged to emerge into a

[1] *British Critic*, April, 1839, pp. 419, 426; "Apologia," pp. 94–104.

new ecclesiastical atmosphere, made him always liable to appear to himself, and to some who knew him best, to be making a series of spiritual "experiments." He was consciously or unconsciously endeavouring to find out "how much the Church of England would bear," and "knew not what would be the issue."[1] All this was going on below the surface, but outwardly, and even to himself, Newman was still confidently marching onwards with the Anglican banner proudly unfurled.

RISING DOUBTS.

But there was soon to come a change. A little cloud showed itself on the horizon, a little rift opened, soon to widen into an impassable gulf. In the summer of 1839 Newman tells us that he began to study the history of the Monophysites. The controversy with Rome had been put on one side for more than two years. In the midst of his study of the struggles of the Church against the heresies of the fifth century, "I found," he says, "as it seemed to me, Christendom of the sixteenth and the nineteenth century reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I saw myself a Monophysite. The church of the *Via Media* was in the position of the Oriental Communion. Rome was where she now is, and the Protestants were the Eutychians."[2]

Shortly after this strange impression created by the study of the Monophysite heresy, a friend placed in his hands the *Dublin Review* of that month, containing an article by Dr. Wiseman on the Anglican claim. The writer drew a parallel, not indeed a very just or exact

[1] "Isaac Williams' "Autobiography," pp. 102–120.
[2] "Apologia," p. 114.

one, between the Anglican Church and the Donatists in Africa. But a sentence of St. Augustine—"Securus judicat orbis terrarum"—quoted in the *Review*, and pointed out to him by a friend, acted upon Newman's mind "like the 'Turn again, Whittington' of the chime, or, to take a more serious one, they were like the '*Tolle lege, Tolle lege*' of the child which converted St. Augustine himself. 'Securus judicat orbis terrarum!' By those great words of the ancient Father, interpreting and summing up the long and varied course of ecclesiastical history, the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverized."[1]

A SPIRITUAL SHOCK.

It is true that the impression faded away for the time; but Newman felt as if he had seen a "shadow of a hand upon the wall." He was "like one to whom a ghost had appeared," and the effect of the impression was a very important one. It virtually destroyed the value of the *Via Media* in his mind, though he still retained a firm belief that Rome was full of practical abuses and excesses. And yet after this time he ceased to write strongly against the Roman Church and her formal doctrines, and more and more began to feel that the Anglican Church required to be cleared of much that obscured the expression of Catholic truth in her formularies, and especially in the Articles. He was so anxious for quietness and leisure, that he even contemplated the resignation of St. Mary's and retirement to Littlemore, where he had begun and carried out a very interesting parochial work. Littlemore was an integral part of the parish of St.

LITTLEMORE.

[1] "Apologia," p. 117.

Mary's, and regarded as a chapel of ease; but Newman found in it a separate and most interesting sphere of pastoral work. The parishioners were almost entirely rustics living in cottages. They appreciated greatly the work done amongst them by Mr. Newman and his curates, and even more still the kindly visits at their homes of his mother and sisters. Twenty years later, Newman wrote with interest of one of his old parishioners from Littlemore, who was living in Birmingham, and had called upon him.[1] Newman had built the little church in their midst in 1835, and it is recorded, by one who knew the parish well, that he gained a very strong hold upon their affections; so much so that they even resented in later days, as a kind of slight on Newman's work and memory, the enlargement and alterations made in the church, which were supposed to be, by others, a great improvement. The building was, in fact, a very plain and simple one, the days of architectural revival having scarcely begun. Nor was the character of the service in the least elaborate or ritualistic, and, as T. Mozley tells us, both there and at St. Mary's, Oxford, Newman "from first to last performed the service after the fashion of the last century."[2] It has sometimes been said, in later days, that an attractive ceremonial is a means of teaching the uneducated Catholic doctrine. It is very doubtful whether there is much truth in this. Certainly Newman and the early Tractarians depended entirely upon their powers of teaching the Catholic faith by plain instruction, constant devotion

[1] "Isaac Williams' Autobiography," p. 133.

[2] "Reminiscences," vol. i., p. 345.

and, above all, a life of self-denial and sincere piety. Ceremonies are rather the expression of faith and devotion than means of teaching them.

It must never be forgotten that, both at St. Clement's, Oxford, and at Littlemore, Newman proved himself to be not only a guide of souls and teacher of the Catholic Faith among intellectual persons at the University, but a tender pastor and friend of simple villagers and working people. And now that the shadows of uncertainty and the mists of doubt began to gather round him, he seemed to long for some place of rest where he might quietly face the difficulties that were closing round him, within and without. Early in 1840 he expresses in his letters the presence of doubts and perplexities, though, now and again, he made it clear that he still believed in the Apostolic character of the Church of England; and in May and the following months he was full of plans for building what he called a *μόνη*, — a miniature religious house, with oratory, library, and cells, each cell containing three departments —a sitting-room, a bedroom, and a cold-bath room. He spent much time in teaching the children church music, and improving the services and ritual; and an ever-increasing portion of his day was assigned to devotional exercises and meditation. He had, ever since March, 1836, become acquainted with the Breviary, which he continued to use ever after. There had been growing up a feeling, not only among the critics of the Movement, but also among its friends, that something was required to explain legitimately the Anglican formularies in a Catholic sense without

TRACT XC.

accepting the Roman claims. Some of the Tracts had already begun to cause distrust in certain quarters. Keble's Tract on "The Mysticism of the Fathers," and that by Isaac Williams on "Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge," had excited much opposition. The publication of Froude's "Remains" gave occasion to accusations of Romanizing tendencies. Several of the Bishops spoke with mingled caution and praise of the Oxford teaching, and others began to denounce it as "an undermining of the foundations of our Protestant Church." On the other hand, some of the younger adherents of the Movement, among whom must be numbered W. G. Ward and F. Oakley, had begun to speak and to write in exaggerated language of the weak points of the English Church, and to extol in terms of unmeasured praise the greatness and merits of the Roman Communion and her teaching. Newman was even appealed to by Bishops to restrain the excesses of his younger followers, and he made up his mind to publish a Tract in order to show that the Thirty-nine Articles were patient of a Catholic interpretation, and that they were never intended to exclude those who held Catholic tradition; that they were not even aimed at the authorized teaching of the Roman Church, but against popular exaggerations of particular points of doctrine and practice. Newman had long meditated a comment upon the Articles, and the question had often come to him, "What will you make of the Articles?" He conceived, therefore, that he was only following the principles of the Anglican Reformation in adhering in his interpretation of the Articles to the instruction given in

the Canon of the English Church, by the Convocation of 1571, that preachers should instruct their people in "that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, and that which the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have collected from their very doctrine." Newman has told us very plainly that he never claimed to hold all Roman doctrine while subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles, nor to interpret them in a "non-natural" sense. Their plain grammatical meaning interpreted, as he believed he was right in doing, in harmony with the teaching of the Catholic Fathers, was the meaning that he conceived he was called upon to accept and teach. Tract 90 was published on the 27th of February. "It was met at Oxford, not with argument, but with panic and wrath."[1] Very soon four senior tutors, among whom were Mr. H. B. Wilson, of St. John's,—who himself in later days was charged with very serious statements at variance with the teaching of the Articles and Creeds,—and Mr. A. C. Tait, of Balliol, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury—wrote to the editor of the Tract, charging him with opening the way to a violation of their engagements to the University on the part of men with Roman views. A week after, the Board of Heads of Houses, without waiting for Mr. Newman's defence, condemned the Tract. Newman, with much courtesy, wrote to the Board a defence of its principles, and to his Bishop further explanations.

AN UNJUST TREATMENT.

Sir John Coleridge has recorded his estimate as a lawyer of the unjust treatment received by the Tract

[1] Dean Church, "Oxford Movement," p. 290.

and its writer at the hands of the Board. "The Board knew, and were indeed directly informed, that three individuals, among the most eminent in the University, and most blameless in character, were substantially the persons to be affected by their decree; nor could the Board be ignorant how heavy was the blow which it proposed to strike by its sentence. The barest justice therefore required that, if any one of them desired to be heard in explanation or mitigation of the charge, reasonable time should have been afforded for the purpose; the more plain the case, the stronger seemingly the evidence, the more imperative in a judicial proceeding was this duty. One can hardly believe that five days only elapsed from the commencement of the proceeding to the publication of the sentence, and twelve hours of delay were respectfully solicited for the defence and refused. On the sixth day the defence appeared. It is obviously quite immaterial to consider whether that defence would have availed or ought to have availed; a judgment so pronounced could have no moral weight."[1]

Newman was surprised at the reception of his attempt to limit the Anti-Roman scope of the Articles, when so much leniency had been shown to writers who had denied or evaded the plain meaning of the Creeds and the Church's teaching on the Sacraments; and he began to be seriously alarmed at what looked like a denial, on the part of the authorities of the University and the Church, of fundamental Catholic principles.

The Bishop of Oxford treated him with much kindness, but asked him to suppress the Tract; and the

[1] Coleridge, "Memoir of the Rev. John Keble," vol. i., p. 278.

matter ended, for the present, by Newman discontinuing the series of Tracts, without being called upon to give up his convictions by suppressing Tract 90.

But the plain result of the outburst of feeling, and the treatment of the Tract by the University, THE LEADER'S WITHDRAWAL. was to make Newman feel that his position in the Movement was gone. That his name had been posted up on the buttery-hatch of every college after the manner "of discommoned pastry-cooks," as he himself put it, wounded him to the quick. That he should be thought capable of anything like an immoral evasion, was hateful to his inmost soul. "I saw," he says, "clearly that my place in the Movement was lost, public confidence was at an end, my occupation was gone. . . . In the last words of my letter to the Bishop of Oxford I thus resigned my own place in the Movement." [1]

V.

Very soon after this painful experience, and the moral and spiritual wrench involved in it, THREE HEAVY BLOWS. three other blows came upon him, while in retirement at Littlemore at work on his Translation of St. Athanasius. First, as he describes it, "the ghost had come a second time." In the history of Arianism, as in that of the Monophysites, he seemed to see modern ecclesiastical parties depicted. "The pure Arians were the Protestants, the semi-Arians were the Anglicans,

[1] "Apologia," pp. 89, 90.

and Rome now was what it was then."[1] The *Via Media* seemed to be the path taken by halters between two opinions.

It is impossible as this mental impression is recorded, so like the others previously related, not to feel that Newman was largely under the influence of a highly sensitive and even morbid fancy. And it must be remembered that Dr. Döllinger once stated, that, if Newman had paid as close and detailed attention to later Church history, as he did to that of the fourth and fifth centuries, he would not have found the position of Rome so clearly on the side of orthodoxy, as he seemed to have discovered it to be. The second blow that fell upon him was the series of Bishops' Charges, which appeared to him to be a formal expression of the voice of authority in the Anglican Church, in condemnation of the teaching of the Oxford Movement. He himself felt and declared, that nothing had so increased the tendency towards secession to Rome as the condemnation of Tract 90 and the language used by the Bishops. Here, again, it is impossible not to feel that Newman, who always felt that "the lightest word of his Bishop" was all-important to him, failed to remember that the lessons gathered from Church history, especially in Arian times, ought to prevent any one from identifying the orthodoxy of the Church of any age or country with the opinions of the Bishops of any particular time. Pusey once said, "Newman leant upon the Bishops, and they broke under him. Keble and I leant upon the Church."

[1] Apologia," p. 139.

The third blow was the foundation of the Jerusalem Bishopric—a most unhappy attempt to unite Anglicans and Lutherans in one communion, under the influence of Monsieur Bunsen,—which had apparently for its object the introduction indirectly of episcopacy into the State Church of Prussia. The Bishop, who was to be appointed alternately by the Sovereigns of England and Prussia, and consecrated by the Primate of all England, was to preside over Anglican and Lutheran clergymen in Palestine. It appeared to all Catholic Churchmen to be a very serious and compromising lowering of the true status of the Anglican Church, as well as an invasion of the jurisdiction of the Oriental Orthodox Communion. No one now defends this miserable and ill-starred project. It is a matter of the greatest satisfaction that the present Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem has nothing whatever to do with the German Lutherans, and, so far from intruding into the jurisdiction of the Eastern Church, was appointed with the full approval of the Orthodox Patriarch. This happy change is one of the many debts the Church owes to the late Archbishop Benson. Probably, if there had not been other causes to weaken Newman's faith in the Catholicity of the Anglican Church, he might not only, as he with others did, have made a solemn protest to his own Bishop and to the Archbishop of Canterbury against the project, but have lived to see, not merely that "it never did good or harm to any one," but also that it was an insufficient cause for bringing him "on to the beginning of the end."

Newman said of himself, "From the end of 1841, I was

on my death-bed, as regards my membership with the Anglican Church, though at the time I became aware of it only by degrees."[1] He had already felt that he no longer could look upon the English Church with the same confidence as of old. It appeared to him to be somewhat in the same position as the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, not altogether cast off, not without grace; prophets like Elijah and Elisha were sent to it, but still it was, in a serious sense, in a state of schism; so with the Anglican Communion, it had the Apostolic Succession and Sacraments, but could scarcely be regarded as in the full sense Catholic. And yet he strove to dwell on the grace given to individuals in spite of the defects of the branch of the visible Church to which they belonged. It was with this feeling in his mind that he wrote to his sister, who was much troubled about his position and that of the Church, in the following words, which seem to represent his state of mind in the early part of 1842: "Will you let me turn your thoughts, if I have not done so already, to the duty, and, in one sense, task of cultivating interior religion, and, in doing so, of leaving all matters of opinion for your Almighty Protector to determine for you in His good time? So far is certain, whatever misgivings you may have had about the Catholicity of the English Church, that men may in it be far, far holier, may live far nearer to God than most of us do. Let us beg Him to enable us to aim at those inward perfections, which He certainly does vouchsafe in our Communion. We cannot be wrong here, we must be pleasing Him in this

WANING CONFIDENCE.

[1] "Apologia," p. 147.

proceeding; we are in the safest way putting ourselves under the shadow of His wings. Depend upon it, at this day, and in our present state, we are unequal to the great work of judging Churches, and had better leave it alone."[1]

He had not long before preached four sermons, in November and December, 1841, entitled, "The Invisible Presence of Christ," "Outward and Inward Notes of the Church," "Grounds for Steadfastness in our Christian Religion," "Elijah the Prophet in the Latter Days."[2] These were all intended to reassure those who were perplexed. They were not meant for those who had no doubt, or those who had no right to be in doubt; and they were evidently efforts to reassure himself. One thing is quite clear, that, during these last few years that he remained in the Anglican Church, he did nothing impatiently, nothing under the influence of mere personal irritation. The painful feelings excited by the virtual condemnation of Tract 90 must not be taken as the real cause of his final secession. Isaac Williams, who knew him well, expresses his opinion very clearly that, though it is quite true that "Newman was very sensitive of such things," the change was much "more owing to his own mind."[3] Rightly or wrongly, his arguments for the Catholicity of the Anglican Church were failing him one by one, and yet he was kept back from joining Rome on account of his inability to accept some of her teaching, and, with delicate scrupulousness, he

[1] "Life and Letters of J. H. Newman," vol. ii., p. 389.

[2] "Sermons on Subjects of the Day," xxi., xxii., xxiii., xxiv.

[3] "Isaac Williams's Autobiography," pp. 104–115.

was careful to exercise his influence in restraining others from becoming Romanists.

Early in February, 1842, he removed to Littlemore with his books and other belongings, only going to Oxford from Saturday till Monday for his duties at St. Mary's. He had a year and a half before this desired to retire from St. Mary's and keep Littlemore; but the Provost was unwilling to agree to the proposition. His removal to Littlemore caused the circulation of many rumours as to his position and actions, and the Bishop of Oxford wrote to him to ask whether he was actually building a regular Anglo-Catholic monastery. He replied, that while he wished to make his house at Littlemore a place of retirement, where he might live a life of greater religious regularity, he was not making any sort of attempt to found a monastic institution. The letters, written by him in the course of that year to his sisters, to Keble, and others, were, on the whole, calm and quiet in their character. But, in August, 1843, one of his friends, who had been living with him at Littlemore, was received into the Church of Rome. This appeared to him to demand some definite action on his part. He could no longer remain in the active ranks of the Anglican ministry, he must retire into lay communion. He determined, accordingly, to resign St. Mary's, and with it Littlemore. He preached his last sermon at St. Mary's on September 17th, and at Littlemore, September 25th. Just before this last date he wrote the following letter to his sister, Mrs. J. Mozley: "You cannot estimate what so many (alas!) feel at present, the strange effect

A PAINFUL CRISIS.

produced on the mind when the conviction flashes, or rather pours, in upon it, that Rome is the true Church. Of course it is a most revolutionary, and therefore a most exciting, tumultuous conviction. For this reason persons should not act under it; for it is impossible in such a state of emotion that they can tell whether their conviction is well founded or not. They cannot judge calmly. . . . It pains me very deeply to pain you; but you see how I am forced to it. You will not say, I think, that I am less affectionate to you from the bottom of my heart, and loving, than I ever have been."[1]

There are, perhaps, no words of any preacher that have come down to us so full of anguish as those of his last sermon, preached at Littlemore, on "The Parting of Friends." They are the revelation of a heart torn with grief at the state of that Church for which he had laboured so earnestly, and his inability to remain any longer ministering at her altars or teaching in her pulpits. They are not bitter words expressing mere personal disappointment, but wrung from an unwilling breast by what appeared to him a stern necessity: "O mother of saints! O school of the wise! O nurse of the heroic, of whom went forth, in whom have dwelt, memorable names of old, to spread the truth abroad, or to cherish and illustrate it at home! O thou from whom surrounding nations lit their lamps! O virgin of Israel! wherefore dost thou now sit on the ground and keep silence, like one of the foolish women who were without oil on the coming of the Bridegroom? Where is now the ruler

A SAD FAREWELL.

[1] "Life and Letters of J. H. Newman," vol. ii., p. 424.

in Sion, and the Doctor in the temple, and the ascetic on Carmel, and the herald in the wilderness, and the preacher in the market-place? Where are thy 'effectual fervent prayers,' offered up in secret, and thy alms and good works coming up as a memorial before God? How is it, O once Holy place, that 'the land mourneth, for the corn is wasted, the new wine is dried up, the oil languisheth . . . because joy is withered away from the sons of men?' 'Alas for the day . . . how do the beasts groan, the herds of cattle are perplexed, because they have no pasture, yea, the flocks of sheep are made desolate.' 'Lebanon is ashamed and hewn down; Sharon is like a wilderness, and Bashan and Carmel shake off their fruits.' O my mother, whence is this unto thee, that thou hast good things poured upon thee and canst not keep them, and bearest children, yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatever is generous in purpose and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no home within thine arms? Who hath put this note upon thee, to have 'a miscarrying womb, and dry breasts,' to be strange to thine own flesh, and thine eye cruel towards thy little ones? Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee and would toil for thee, thou dost gaze upon with fear, as though a portent, or thou dost loathe as an offence—at best thou dost but endure, as if they had no claim but on thy patience, self-possession, and vigilance, to be rid of them as easily as thou mayest. Thou makest them 'stand all the day idle,' as the very

condition of thy bearing with them; or thou biddest them begone, where they will be more welcome; or thou sellest them for nought to the stranger that passes by. And what wilt thou do in the end thereof . . . ?"[1]

The effect of Newman's resignation of St. Mary's was most striking; indeed, it was quite appalling. THE EMPTY PULPIT. For many years that voice had been heard and listened to with rapt attention. His sermons have been described as having "done more perhaps than any one thing to mould and quicken and brace the religious temper of our time. They have acted with equal force on those who were nearest and those who were furthest from them in theological opinion. They have altered the whole manner of feeling towards religious subjects. . . . These sermons are also among the very finest examples of what the English language of our day has done in the hands of a master. Sermons of such intense conviction and directness of purpose, combined with such originality and perfection on their purely literal side, are rare everywhere."

Another has said of him, "I had then never seen so impressive a person; I met him now and then in private. I attended his church and heard him preach Sunday after Sunday. He is supposed to have been insidious, to have led his disciples on to conclusions, to which he designed to bring them, while his purpose was carefully veiled. He was, on the contrary, the most transparent of men; he told us what he believed to be true: he did not know where it would carry him."[3]

[1] J. H. Newman, "Sermons on Subjects of the Day," p. 408.
[2] *Saturday Review*, June 5, 1879.
[3] J. A. Froude, *Good Words*, 1881, p. 612.

And now all this was to come to an end; no longer would crowds of men, young and old, hang upon his lips, and go away in silence, deeply moved, pondering things in their heart. One who was at that time an undergraduate has told us in striking language what he felt when it was known that Newman had ceased to be Vicar of St. Mary's: "On these things, looking over an interval of five and twenty years, how vividly comes back the remembrance of the aching blank, the awful pause which fell on Oxford when that voice had ceased, and we knew that we should hear it no more. It was as when, to one kneeling by night, in the silence of some vast cathedral, the great bell tolling solemnly overhead has suddenly gone still. . . . Since then many voices of powerful teachers may have been heard, but none that ever penetrated the soul like his."[1]

VI.

INWARD DISTRESS.

During the remainder of 1843, and throughout the next year, Newman was in close retirement writing to his sisters, to his friends, J. W. Bowden, Keble, and J. B. Mozley — his mind still strongly drawn towards Rome, but listening, as he said, to the waning doubt in favour of the Anglican Church, as he had formerly listened to the waning doubt in favour of Rome. How touching are the following words of his sister, Mrs. J. Mozley, when, in March, 1845, she wrote as follows of his probable secession: "It is like

[1] Shairp, "Studies in Poetry and Philosophy."

hearing that some dear friend must die; I cannot shut my eyes to this overpowering event that threatens, any longer. What the consequences may be I know not. Oh, dear John, can you have thought long enough, before deciding on a step which with its probable effects must plunge so many into confusion and dismay. I know what you will answer, that nothing but the risk of personal salvation will lead you to it, and I quite believe it; . . . but think what must be our feelings who cannot entertain your view, but can only deplore it as a grievous mistake."

How equally pathetic are the words of his reply:—"I am distressing all I love, unsettling all I have instructed or aided. I am going to those I do not know, and of whom I expect very little. I am making myself an outcast, and that at my age. Oh what can it be but a stern necessity which causes this . . .? Continually do I pray that He may discover to me if I am under a delusion—what can I do more? What hope have I but in Him? . . . May He tell me, may I listen to Him, if His will is other than I think it to be."[1]

If any one were inclined to think harshly of Newman's action in leaving the English Church and submitting to Rome, any severity of judgment would be greatly mitigated by the perusal of such letters as these and others written at the same time. There can be no doubt that the last two or three years of the period, now under consideration, were to him years of intense mental and spiritual anguish. No one, who honestly endeavours to understand his position, can think of him as the

[1] "Life and Letters of J. H. Newman," vol. ii., pp. 457–461.

insidious conspirator, or the subtle suggester of doubts. That has been the description sometimes given of him. Nor can it be for one moment allowed that he clung to any position in the English Church for the sake of undermining her authority and teaching. As soon as he was convinced that he could not any longer act as a representative of that authority or the mouthpiece of that teaching, he resigned office. Two things he notes that he did in the year 1843: he retracted all violent charges that he had made against Rome, and he resigned the Vicarage of St. Mary's. But, before he could take the final step, he felt it just and right to clear his mind of vague misgiving by writing his celebrated essay on "Development."

ESSAY ON DEVELOPMENT.

He had already dealt with the subject, to a limited extent, in the last of his "University Sermons;" but the complete investigation of the theory, which has since been largely adopted by the champions of modern Romanism, required a much fuller and detailed treatment. The theory, as Newman treated it, was undoubtedly a new departure. The original ground taken by Roman Catholic controversialists was, that Rome held fast to the original Apostolic tradition from which ancient heretics and modern Protestants departed. Newman introduced a new method, in order to account for the discrepancy between the later teaching of the Roman Church and the witness of primitive traditions. Those who answered Newman's theory, like Bishop Moberly, William Palmer and J. B. Mozley, distinguished between the true development, which is essential to a Divine Revelation through the changing ages of the

world's history, and that addition of dogmas and devotions of which there are no true germs in the original promulgation of "the faith once for all delivered to the Saints."

Some persons have seen in Newman's bold theory a kind of anticipation of the Darwinian hypothesis of Evolution: others regard it as opening the way for the most extreme form of rationalism. Some of the positions taken up by him are certainly very startling, notably his reference to the Arian controversy, where he appears to teach that the great mistake of the Arians consisted, not so much in bringing into the sphere of theology a personality almost Divine and yet not sharing in the supreme Godhead, a creature and yet worthy of the highest form of devotion, but in assigning that Personality to the Son of God, rather than to her whose rightful dignity it was, the Blessed Mother of our Lord.

The effect upon himself of the working out of this theory was that, as he advanced, his mind was so cleared of doubt that he ceased to speak of "Roman Catholics," and plainly called them "Catholics."

"The Oxford tradition, we are told, says that, as Newman month after month stood at his desk writing the Essay on Development, he grew ever thinner and more transparent, till at last, when he suddenly dropped his pen, and made up his mind that he had attained the fullest conviction that he must no longer delay his submission to Rome on peril of sinning against light, you could almost have seen through him."[1]

[1] R. H. Hutton, "Cardinal Newman," p. 185.

THE FINAL STEP.

On October 8th he wrote from Littlemore to a number of friends, "I am this night expecting Father Dominic, the Passionist. . . . He is a simple, holy man, and withal gifted with remarkable powers. He does not know of my intention, but I mean to ask of him admission to the one fold of Christ." His departure from Oxford he describes as follows: "I left Oxford for good on Monday, February 23, 1846. I slept on Sunday night at my dear friend's, Mr. Johnson's, at the Observatory. Various friends came to see the last of me: Mr. Copeland, Mr. Church, Mr. Buckle, Mr. Pattison, and Mr. Lewis. Dr. Pusey came, too, to take leave of me; and I called on Dr. Ogle, one of my very oldest friends, for he was my private tutor when I was an undergraduate. In him I took leave of my first college, Trinity, which was so dear to me, and which held on its foundation so many who had been kind to me, both when I was a boy and all through my Oxford life. Trinity had never been unkind to me. There used to be much snap-dragon growing on the walls opposite my freshman's rooms there, and I had for years taken it as the emblem of my own perpetual residence even unto death in my University. On the morning of the 23rd I left the Observatory. I have never seen Oxford since, excepting its spires, as they are seen from the railway."[1]

FAREWELL TO OXFORD.

THE RESULTS OF THE SECESSION.

In estimating the effect of Newman's secession it would be as easy to exaggerate as to minimize its importance. Two eminent statesmen have given their opinion as to the great

[1] "Apologia," p. 236.

gravity of the event. Disraeli said, many years afterwards, that it was "a blow under which the Church of England still reeled;" and Gladstone has recorded his opinion that "it had never yet been estimated at anything like the full amount of its calamitous importance."

THE SECEDERS.

On the other hand, it has been pointed out that, among those who seceded to Rome in consequence of Newman's influence, very many "were persons who looked upon him at a slight distance, or mixed with a feeling of inferiority as younger or less intimate; and especially such as 'sat under him,' to use a popular sectarian expression,—such as Oakley, Manning, Ward, Faber, and perhaps a hundred or more of others. . . . There does not appear to have been any who associated with Newman on terms of equality, either from age or position, or daily habitual intercourse or the like, in unrestrained familiar knowledge, who have followed his example in seceding to the Roman Church—such, I mean, as Fellows of Oriel." [1]

There can be no doubt that it was a very terrible blow to the Tractarian Party, and to the Church of England also: that the leader, to whom so many had looked up, from whom they had learnt so much, and who at one time appeared to be leading a triumphant host of followers to a victorious position in an awakened Church, should be forced by the overthrow of his own convictions to make the surrender of his office in that Church, to give before the world the practical denial of the whole position he had so ably defended, came with crushing and overwhelming pain. They felt, as one

[1] "Isaac Williams's Autobiography," pp. 121, 122.

said at the time, that they had "leant upon Newman, lived upon him, made him their other and better nature, so the crash was most overpowering." Some of those who had been active in the spread of Tractarian principles drew back, and relapsed into comparative indifference; others were driven further still, and, by a kind of reaction, lost their hold, not only on Catholic principles, but on the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Their admiration of Newman, their trust in his personal guidance had been more to them than their grasp of the Church's teaching. There can be no doubt that for some years, at least, to a very considerable extent, the Tractarian Party was like an army demoralized by the loss of its general, with no one to issue the word of command, uncertain in what direction to move, and without confidence in the future. Not that this was true of all, and certainly not of some of the most prominent leaders,—Keble, Pusey, Church, and James Mozley said and felt that, to use the words of the last-named writer, "they could no more leave the English Church than fly; one's spiritual home is an unsettled and stormy one, but still it is one's home." They felt that, whatever lessons Newman had taught them they could not unlearn merely because he had been led to distrust the grounds of his teaching. The teaching was to them so irrefragably true, that no allegiance to a personality, however great, however noble, could claim their relinquishment of truths based upon what to them was nothing less than Divine testimony. And so, great as was the blow to the party, terrible as was the effect upon the Church as a whole,

THE STEADFAST.

which, as has been said, "reeled to its very foundations" at a most critical moment of her history, all was not lost, when the greatest mind of the English Church in modern times failed her in her hour of need.

NEW ERA OF THE MOVEMENT.

It may be said that, from one point of view, the loss of Newman in the long run prevented the Tractarian Movement from resting too implicitly upon one great mind. It has been often remarked, that in the sixteenth century the Reformation in England was not started and guided by one strong spiritual character like Luther or Calvin, it was rather the result of mingled forces which were not dependent on the guiding hand of some overmastering intellect or dominant will. It may, perhaps, have been as well that the second stage of the great Tractarian revival should have been begun and carried on apart from the strong influence of a single great leader. It had more chance of becoming less personal, less in danger of taking the form of a mere party or sect, and more able, slowly indeed, and with diminished brilliancy, to leaven by degrees the whole Anglican Communion. In earlier days the party received the nickname of Newmanites or Neomaniacs; these epithets soon died out. For some years later the strong character and active mind of Dr. Pusey caused the world to call the party by the name of Puseyite. Happily these names are rarely used now, and the reason of this is to be found in the fact, that the whole Church has been so largely imbued with the Catholic teaching of the first leaders of the Tractarian Movement, that it is now seen to be absurd to use their names as if they were mere

leaders of a school of thought, instead of being true sons of the Catholic Church, who revived her ancient teaching without any ulterior motive of personal self-assertion.

EFFECT ON FOES.

On the other hand, it would be useless to disguise the mischief done at the time by Newman's secession on the minds of those who looked upon the whole movement as a Romanizing one. It seemed entirely to justify all that had been said in Bishops' Charges, controversial newspapers, and on Protestant platforms, of the dangerous results of Tractarian teaching. Rancorous Puritanism and exulting Romanism united in pointing to the secession of Newman, and those who followed him or preceded him, as the discomfiture of the school of the *Via Media*, and the evident proof that there was no halting-place between Ultramontanism and its opposite, extreme Protestantism. It cannot be denied that, for many years, the spread of Anglo-Catholic principles was hampered by the dread of Rome. A great deal of the panic that the "Papal aggression" aroused had its origin in Newman's submission to Rome in 1845, and that of Manning and others a few years later. The spectre of secession haunted many minds who otherwise would have been ready to accept the Apostolic and Primitive doctrines that the Oxford School had revived. Some of the leaders who remained steadfast felt this very keenly, and, like J. B. Mozley, considered it their absolute duty to speak plainly on the subject of Newman's secession. He wrote as follows, when preparing an article for the *Christian Remembrancer*: "The article will, perhaps, have a decisiveness of tone

to many ears, which (as being a new kind of tone to use in any sort of connection with Newman) will annoy some people. I expect it will; but the fact is not to be avoided that a new relation is begun between Newman and the English Church, and somebody must be the person to express that new relation. I have had the office, and a most disagreeable one it has been, as I say. But I feel strongly that, staying in the English Church as I do, I stay to support her, and not to give her up or stand loosely by her. There would be no excuse for staying on this latter ground, after this secession."[1]

There were those who, without having followed Newman implicitly, and who had disliked some of his propositions as stated in Tract 90, yet had nevertheless a profound admiration for his character and ability, and felt that his secession weakened the power of the Anglican Church to resist that flood of scepticism, which they had the foresight to realize was coming on, and all the more likely to make headway, in proportion as men lost confidence in the great principle of authority inculcated by the Tractarian School and supported by the study of the Fathers. The following words of one who might be described as a moderate Tractarian, express what was in the mind of many: "Those who least favour Newman are right to feel that, in losing him, the English Church has lost the man possessed of the greatest theological stores and ability in her Communion, and the most competent to cope with the

LOSS OF STRENGTH TO THE CHURCH'S TEACHING POWER.

[1] "Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley," p. 173.

German rationalism, which all agree is likely to come even at Oxford, and more likely as young men have lost confidence in the Church Movement, and are likely to give up reading Fathers, etc., if it must lead to a step like Newman's." [1]

That these anxious forebodings were not unfounded, no one who has studied the history of the University and of the Church in the quarter of a century that elapsed after Newman's secession can deny. It is not too much to say that Newman's profound grasp of the Divine origin and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, combined with his clear recognition of the Divine Presence in the Church, would have made him a splendid champion at a time when such a keen thinker was sorely needed. The man who delivered the lectures on "Holy Scripture in Relation to the Catholic Creed," would have been of invaluable service in defending both the authority of the Church and the Divine character of the written Word.

BIBLE CRITICISM.

Newman was not a German scholar, and therefore not specially qualified to deal with the writings of the "Higher Critics;" but, nevertheless, his Biblical knowledge was great, and his sense of the relation of the Church to Holy Scripture keen. Some idea may be formed of the manner in which Newman would have dealt with the question of the Higher Criticism from a remarkable article of his in the *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1884, on "The Inspiration of Scripture," where, after laying down the great principle that Holy Scripture is the fountain of

[1] "Life of H. W. Burrows," p. 194.

all saving truth and all instruction in morals, and that the Church and therefore the Pope is the infallible interpreter of the inspired Word, he deals with the question of what is obligatory on a Catholic to believe about the inspiration of the Scriptures. "There are two agencies," he says, "Divine grace and human intelligence co-operating." The mind of the writer is inspired, not only in composing, but in selecting and embodying pre-existing documents. "Thus Moses may have incorporated in his manuscript as much from foreign documents as is maintained by the critical school;" and the Chaldee and Greek portions of the Book of Daniel may not have been actually written by Daniel: for inspiration does not require and imply "that the book inspired should in its form and matter be homogenous." He discusses the Psalter in the same way, stating that the whole collection is not required by the Church to be accepted as necessarily the writing of David. The titles of the canonical books, and their ascription to definite authors, either do not come under their inspiration or need not be accepted literally. In short, there can be no doubt that the tendency of Newman's teaching was against the hard literalism that would make verbal inspiration the implied equivalent of the inspiration of Holy Scripture. He would, at the least, have been at one with Dr. Liddon in the acceptance of the idea expressed in the phrase "the inspiration of selection," and it is highly probable, that his powerful mind and wide influence would have had a beneficial effect in moderating the heat of controversy between the older school of Bible interpretation and the later

developments of the Higher Criticism. The following words of Thomas Mozley seem to remind us that Newman's work, while specially influencing the Church in one direction, inspired it in many others, including an awakened interest in Biblical criticism: "Upon the whole, the movement must be credited with the increased interest in Divine things, the more reverential regard for sacred persons and places, and the freedom from mere traditional interpretation, which mark the present century in comparison with the last. The Oxford Movement, unforeseen by the chief movers, and to some extent in spite of them, has produced a generation of ecclesiologists, ritualists, and religious poets. Whatever may be said of its priestcraft, it has filled the land with Church crafts of all kinds. Has it not had some share in the restoration of Biblical criticism, and in the revision of the Authorized Version?"[1]

VII.

NEWMAN'S WORK AS A ROMAN CATHOLIC.

After his reception into the Roman Catholic Communion, at the advice of Cardinal Wiseman, who confirmed him at Oscott in November, 1845, he went to Rome in October, 1846, where, after a short probation, he was ordained Priest. At the end of 1847 he returned to England, and, joining the Community of St. Philip Neri, started the Oratory at Birmingham, a branch of which was founded in London in 1849 under Father

[1] T. B. Mozley, "Reminiscences," vol. ii., p. 41.

Faber. St. Philip Neri's character seems to have had a great attraction for Newman. He has told us not a little of St. Philip. He preached a sermon in 1850, on the first anniversary of the Birmingham Ora- BIRMINGHAM tory, in which he gave at length a full account ORATORY. of the life, and character, and times of this attractive Saint. His address was marked by thorough historical and theological knowledge. He contrasted the political and external reform of Savonarola with the purely spiritual labours of St. Philip Neri. He drew out his deep humility, quoting his words, "To despise the whole world, to despise no member of it, to despise one's self, to despise being despised." In another sermon on "St. Paul's Gift of Sympathy," preached in the University Church, Dublin, he noted the likeness between St. Philip Neri, the Apostle of Rome, and the great Apostle of the Gentiles, in their tender sympathy and gentleness. He also called the attention of the members of the Oratory to the keen interest taken by St. Philip in the ST. PHILIP missionaries sent from Rome to England, NERI. under circumstances of great risk, at a time when he himself would gladly have ventured on so dangerous an enterprise, but felt himself debarred from doing so.

At Birmingham, Newman devoted himself, not only to the instruction of the educated, but also to ministrations amongst the poor in the slums. During the great outbreak of cholera in 1849, he spent much time in visiting the sick and dying. His old pastoral instincts, developed at St. Clements and Littlemore, once more manifested themselves. But nevertheless he felt that his principal vocation was the instruction of cultivated

minds, and his discourses addressed to "mixed congregations," published in 1849, and other sermons delivered then and afterwards, appealed mainly to his more educated hearers. In the early days of his new position, he naturally devoted much of his energies to showing the weakness of the Anglican position. This he did, not only in a work of fiction called "Loss and Gain," but in his well-known lectures on "Anglican Difficulties"; with keen irony he used all the powers of eloquence and illustration to describe how, what appeared to him, the disillusion of his early view of the Church of England had taken place. In his lectures on "Catholicism in England" he gave the reins to an almost exaggerated description of the ignorant and fanatical Protestantism of the time. Allowing for his change of position, and the natural tendency of a convert to make the worst of the Communion he has left, and the best of that which he has adopted, it must nevertheless be said that Newman, at this time, somewhat exceeded the limits of sober-minded controversy. There is a distinct contrast between the tone of his utterances at this time, with regard to the Anglican Church, and those of his later years.

CONTROVERSY.

A statement made in the fifth lecture of his course on "Catholicism" brought upon him an action for libel, raised by Dr. Achilli, one of those occasional and unsatisfactory seceders from the Roman Catholic Church and Priesthood who, from time to time, acquire a certain notoriety, and bring as little honour to the new Communion they join, as they gave to the one they leave. This person had been

DR. ACHILLI.

charged at Rome with grave moral faults, while he himself maintained that his enemies had attacked him on account of the change of his religious opinions. Newman lost his case, though at the time it was thought that the judge's charge was not an impartial one, and, besides the fine, was condemned to pay £12,000 in costs. This vast sum was paid by contributions from all parts of the Roman Catholic world. In 1852, he was sent to Dublin to deliver a course of lectures on "University Teaching." The success of the University Movement among the Roman Catholics in Dublin does not seem to have been very great, but Newman's lectures, entitled "The Idea of a University," remain as an admirable monument of his broad-minded views on the comprehensiveness of a true University education. Of course, he maintained the great importance of theology as the dominant and essential science, which must consecrate all other sciences and act as a bond of union in their midst. But he held also that all other branches of secular knowledge and literature must find their place in the curriculum of a University, unless the students are to go out into the world unprepared to meet the moral and intellectual temptations that they are bound to face. "If, then, a University is a direct preparation for this world, let it be what it professes. It is not a convent; it is not a seminary: it is a place to fit men of the world for the world. We cannot possibly keep them from plunging into the world, with all its ways and principles and maxims, when their time comes; but we can prepare them against what is inevitable; and it is not the way to learn to swim in

"IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY."

troubled waters never to have gone into them. Proscribe, I do not merely say particular authors, particular works, particular passages, but secular literature as such; cut out from your class-books all broad manifestations of the natural man: and these manifestations are waiting for your pupil's benefit at the very doors of your lecture-room in living and breathing substance. They will meet him there in all the charm of novelty, and all the fascination of genius or of amiableness. To-day a pupil, to-morrow a member of the great world; to-day confined to the lives of the Saints, to-morrow thrown upon Babel — thrown on Babel without the honest indulgence of wit, and humour, and imagination having ever been permitted to him, without any fastidiousness of taste wrought into him, without any rule given him for discriminating 'the precious from the vile,' beauty from sin, the truth from the sophistry of nature, what is innocent from what is poison."[1]

UNFOUNDED RUMOURS.

There were from time to time unfounded rumours that Newman was dissatisfied with his position in the Roman Church, and that he even contemplated a return to the Anglican Communion. These were absolutely baseless, but in 1862 he thought it necessary to deny the statements made in a newspaper, that he was about to leave the Oratory as a preliminary of his return to the Church of England. After stating that he had not had "one moment's wavering of trust in the Roman Catholic Church ever since I was received into her fold," that he had "a supreme satisfaction in her worship, discipline and teaching," he concluded:

[1] "The Idea of a University," discourse ix., § 8.

"I do hereby profess *ex animo*, with one absolute internal assent and consent, that Protestantism is the dreariest of all possible religions; that the thought of the Anglican Service makes me shiver, and the thought of the Thirty-nine Articles makes me shudder. Return to the Church of England! No! 'The net is broken, and we are delivered.' I should be a consummate fool (to use a mild term) if in my old age I left 'the land flowing with milk and honey' for the city of confusion and the house of bondage."[1] And yet Newman might have passed a less severe judgment than this on the Anglican Church. He might have made more allowances for the difficulties of its insular position (now so marvellously modified), its connection with the State, its very position between the Protestant Communities and the rest of Western Christendom which has called forth significant notice from Roman Catholic writers. He might have understood and expressed for the Church of England what he has contended for in his own adopted Communion, that abuses and errors take long to eradicate, and demand patience and faith. "Evil will pass away from this world and from the Church very slowly, nay (if we are to imagine that the moral system advances after the analogy of the advance in the physical system), so slowly that one or two generations afford no available measure of calculating the rate of advance."[2]

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

Newman certainly used gentler and more kindly

[1] "Letter to the *Globe*," June 28, 1862.

[2] "Five Letters of Cardinal Newman," *Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1899.

language than this towards the Anglican Church in his later days, much more so indeed than he had done in the early years of his great change. But he never gave any real occasion for such idle rumours as those above noticed. It is well known how to the end of his life he felt the charm of the English Bible which he has so touchingly described. He says of the beauty of its language: "It lives on the ears like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of the Church bell which the convert hardly knows how he can forego."

Newman always delighted in making use of any opportunity of listening to the Cathedral music of the English Church, such as was afforded him from time to time when he visited the late Dean of St. Paul's; and it may, perhaps, surprise some rigid champions of Gregorian tones to be told that Anglican chanting was particularly pleasing to his musical taste. He did not refuse to allow that "the National Church had hitherto been a serviceable breakwater against doctrinal errors more fundamental than its own," though he was careful to explain that a "serviceable breakwater" was not the same thing as "a great bulwark," which was the form inadvertently given to his words at the time.

CONTROVERSY WITH KINGSLEY.

In 1864 Mr. Kingsley, in a review of Froude's "History of England," quoted from a sermon of Newman's on "Wisdom and Innocence,"[1] preached on February, 1843, in support of a statement of the Reviewer that "truth never has been and never need be a virtue of the Roman Clergy." Newman at once challenged the assertion, and a spirited

[1] "Sermons on Subjects of the Day," xx.

controversy took place, out of which Mr. Kingsley did not come with an increased reputation for impartiality and fairness. Certainly his charge of tortuousness of mind in Dr. Newman was not borne out by any statements of Newman himself. The controversy had one great result, and that was the publication of Newman's "Apologia pro Vitâ suâ," otherwise called "The History of my Religious Opinions." THE "APOLOGIA." This book has been rightly called a "singularly frank and straightforward story of the growth of Newman's convictions;" it reveals him as "the last man in the world to feel the smallest sympathy with untruthfulness or dishonesty—indeed, not to feel the utmost repulsion towards it. A man so genuine in character, so ingenuous in judging himself, has hardly made himself known to the world."[1]

VIII.

On the publication of Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon" Dr. Newman addressed him a letter, which was afterwards published with notes. He expressed his feeling of joy at any proposal being made by his old friend for the reunion of Christendom. He recognized Dr. Pusey's long and unremitting labours, his great influence, and the large numbers whom he represented in belief and aspirations. He did not complain of the strong statement of difficulties in the way of reunion, but he thought that Dr. Pusey had, both DR. PUSEY'S "EIRENICON."

[1] R. H. Hutton, "Cardinal Newman," p. 230.

in the matter and in the manner of his volume, done not a little "to wound those who love you well, but love truth more." He added, "There was one of old time who wreathed his sword in myrtle; excuse me, you discharge your olive-branch as if from a catapult."[1] He dealt with Dr. Pusey's quotations from Continental theologians, and stated his own preference for English habits of belief and devotion to foreign. But he justified the teaching of the Roman Church on devotion to the Blessed Virgin and the Immaculate Conception in a very able statement, which he reinforced by reference to the strong language used towards the Blessed Virgin in the Eastern Liturgies. If the letter was not a complete answer to Dr. Pusey's strictures on the exaggerations which he pointed out in his "Eirenicon," if it failed to be as convincing as its author expected, it yet showed that controversy could be carried on between these two old friends, separated for so many years in outward communion, in a temperate and even affectionate tone; and, at all events, the controversy called out a repudiation of not a few of the statements which Dr. Pusey felt to be serious obstacles to wholesome reunion. Newman said of these, "Sentiments such as these I never knew of till I read your book, nor, as I think, do the vast majority of English Catholics know them; they seem to me like a bad dream."[2]

"GRAMMAR OF ASSENT."

In all probability the survey of his past life, and the self-introspection which the publication of the "Apologia" involved, gave the

[1] "Letter to Dr. Pusey," p. 9.
[2] Ibid., p. 119.

occasion for the composition of his book called the "Grammar of Assent," an elaborate work on the groundwork of faith, and the reasons for arriving at a feeling of certitude on the great questions connected with religious belief. This book was published at the time when men's minds were aroused by the assembling of the Vatican Council, in 1870. It was well known that a strong attempt was likely to be made to define the infallibility of the Pope, and that the principal persons who were most active in urging on the definition were the Ultramontanes, represented by Mr. W. G. Ward and Dr. Manning. Newman, though he never could be regarded as an opponent of the definition in itself, considered the time for transforming an implicit into an explicit dogma inopportune, and likely to throw back the advance of the Roman Catholic Church in England indefinitely. He wrote a letter addressed to Bishop Ullathorne, which was never meant for publication, in which he strongly deprecated the action of what he called "an aggressive and insolent faction." It was not so much that he was personally affected by anything that might be defined, but he said, "I cannot help suffering with the many souls who are suffering, and I look with anxiety at the prospect of having to defend decisions which may not be difficult to my own private judgment, but may be most difficult to maintain logically in the face of historical facts. What have we done to be treated as the faithful never were treated before? When has definition *de fide* been a luxury of devotion and not a stern, painful necessity? Why should an

INFALLIBILITY AND THE VATICAN COUNCIL.

aggressive, insolent faction be allowed to make the heart of the just sad, whom the Lord hath not made sorrowful? Why cannot we be let alone, when we have pursued peace and thought no evil?"[1]

After the definition was proclaimed, he made it quite clear in a letter to *The Guardian* in answer to some statements by Mr. Capes, that he had no change of mind to make, as regards the truth of the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility, in consequence of the Council, and referred to many of his works, written in the years ranging from 1845 to 1857, to show he had always taught it. But nevertheless he said of the above letter, "I have not a word to retract."

Newman may have been of the number of those who thought the definition inopportune, but he never dreamt of taking up the position adopted by Dr. Döllinger and his party, though he had publicly to contradict certain rumours that he was likely to do so. In fact Newman was quite capable of criticizing the abuses existing in the Church, and the action of individual Popes, without in the least losing faith in the rightfulness of the Papal system as a whole. He could speak of the St. Bartholomew massacre as "an insane act," and deprecate "Pope Gregory's hasty approbation of so great a crime." He could realize that the Court of Rome, "frightened out of its wits," might then and at other times be "mixed up with mere politicians and unscrupulous men," and make serious mistakes that could not be defended.[2]

[1] R. H. Hutton, "Cardinal Newman," p. 240.

[2] "Five Letters of Cardinal Newman," *Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1899.

The condition of the Papacy at any particular date did not disturb his confidence in it as a Divinely appointed institution. "The temporal success, talent, and renown of the Papacy did not make me a Catholic, and its errors and misfortunes have no power to unsettle me." To a correspondent, who asked him in 1875 to explain some of the apparent serious abuses and wrongdoings of the Papacy which had never been disowned, he replied that he could not fail to recognize "the existence of that flood of evil which shocks you in the visible Church, but for me, if it touched my faith mortally in the Divinity of Catholicism it would, by parity of reason, touch my faith in the Being of a personal God and moral Governor."[1] And so, after the promulgation of the Vatican decrees, there was not the slightest idea in his mind of doing anything but accept them.

But there can be no doubt that he felt very strongly that the definition was certainly likely to throw back the conversion which he hoped for of multitudes of his Anglican friends. He felt, as he said, "that all he could do in the matter was to bow his head to God's adorable, inscrutable Providence." Still when, a few years later, Mr. Gladstone published his articles on "Vaticanism," it was Newman who, by common consent, was called upon to answer them, in a letter addressed to the Duke of Norfolk. The purpose of this letter was intended to remove the impression that submission to the Vatican decrees was incompatible with true patriotism and loyalty to the Sovereign and Government of England. On the whole

LETTER TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[1] "Five Letters of Cardinal Newman," *Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1899.

it may be said with truth that, while Newman implicitly accepted the Vatican decrees, he did his utmost to make them acceptable to the English world by a process which was not unfairly called "minimizing." This line of action was certainly not in favour with the Ultramontane party in England and Ireland, nor quite in accordance with the mind of Pius IX., and the Roman Curia; and Newman, with all his greatness, and in spite of all that he had done for the Roman Catholic Church, since his secession in 1845, hardly occupied the position that seemed his due. It is an open secret that his relations with Cardinal Manning were not of the most cordial kind.[1] But in 1878, when Leo XIII. acceded to the Papal throne, though there was no reversal of Papal policy in general, there was a deliberate effort made to impress the world with the new Pope's desire to conciliate men of intellect and temperate opinions. "The cloud lifted," as some of Newman's friends put it, and Newman was selected for the honour of a Cardinal's hat in 1879, and, in spite of some curious and not easily understood statements that he had declined the dignity,[2] he went to Rome, to receive the insignia of his office. He accepted it, not because he desired in his old age to occupy the position of a Prince of the Church, but because those who sympathized with his action in 1870 desired to see him thus honoured.

"THE CLOUD LIFTED."

THE CARDINALATE.

In his address, delivered at his installation in simple and modest language, he stated that the great object of

[1] See Purcell's "Life of Manning," vol. ii., chap. xiv.

[2] Ibid., vol. ii., pp. 560, *seq.*

his life had been to oppose "liberalism in religion," by which he meant "the doctrine that there is no positive truth in religion, but that one Creed is as good as another."[1] Certainly the whole Catholic Church, Anglican as well as Roman, owes a vast debt to the powerful defence that he made of all the great fundamentals of the Catholic faith. No injury done to the English Church by his secession can ever make Anglicans forgetful of all that they, with all true believers, owe to him for doing battle in a latitudinarian age in behalf of the great verities contained in Holy Scripture and the Creeds. To him in no little degree it is due that at the present day there is a more intelligent grasp and a more courageous expression in the Church of England of the mysteries of the faith—the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, as well as a devout acceptance and reverent use of the Grace of God given in the Sacraments. And therefore his elevation to so high a position in that Church for which he deserted her Communion, was received not only without jealousy, but with no little gratification at the honour done to one who had been the greatest Anglican of his own, if not of any, age. Newman was also honoured by his own two colleges at Oxford, Trinity and Oriel, who rejoiced to welcome him back into their societies as an honorary member.

The remainder of his life was comparatively uneventful. It was occupied with frequent devotion and simple, earnest labours, in the discharge of his public duties. Those who knew him delighted in

HIS PERSONALITY.

[1] R. H. Hutton, "Life of Newman," p. 242.

their private intercourse with him; one of his friends says, "He was a talker of supreme eloquence, and with no touch of arrogance." Another dwells on his "pervading personality," "splendid urbanity," "the true Christian equity of his temper." Another writer at the time of his death dwelt upon "his naturalness, the freshness and freedom with which he addressed a friend, or expressed an opinion, the absence of all mannerism or formality." He had a keen sense of humour, and was a master of the use of irony. He was one with whom a sympathetic soul could enter into the closest intimacy. His relation to R. H. Froude was, as he said himself, "the closest and most affectionate friendship," and he delighted in "the gentleness and tenderness of nature, the free elastic force and graceful versatility of mind, and the patient winning considerateness in discussion, which endeared him (Froude) to those to whom he opened his heart."[1] John William Bowden had been his friend for twenty-seven years, and when he died Newman wrote, "I sobbed bitterly over his coffin to think that he had left me still dark as to what the way of truth was, and what I ought to do in order to please God, and fulfill His will."[2] In after life, he had close intimacies with Father Ambrose St. John, Mr. Hope Scott, Mr. Kegan Paul, and many others. There was a repose and dignity about the last few years of his days on earth, which must have been grateful to one who had suffered not a little from the heat and conflict of controversy.

[1] "Apologia," p. 23.

[2] "Life and Letters of J. H. Newman," vol. ii., p. 438.

Cardinal Newman died at Edgbaston on Monday, August 11, 1890, after a short illness, and was buried at Rednal. His body had lain in state for twenty-four hours, during which twenty thousand people passed through the Oratory Church at Birmingham. The funeral services were performed with great solemnity, not only at Birmingham, but also at Brompton Oratory. At the latter place Cardinal Manning delivered an impressive address, recalling reminiscences of "his brother and friend of more than sixty years." Dr. Paget, at Christ Church, Oxford, and many another preacher bore witness to his work as a preacher of repentance and righteousness, and the whole world of literature pointed to him as a master of English writing.

DEATH AND FUNERAL.

It has been said, both by Roman Catholic writers as well as others, that there was a great contrast between his writings while in the Anglican Church, and those which he published after he joined the Roman Communion. It is thought that his later works showed a freer, happier, and more sparkling spirit, while the former were characterized by a sadness and a kind of painful uncertainty. Anglicans have expressed their opinion that he never afterwards wrote anything that at all approaches in strong and earnest purpose and intensity of feeling the sermons at St. Mary's, and that his Roman Catholic discourses were more forced and less real. Perhaps the estimate in either case is influenced by the religious standpoint of those who make the distinction. But in both his Anglican and Roman Catholic writings there is a marvellous purity

HIS WRITINGS.

of style, and an almost unexampled naturalness and ease. "The majority of English readers seem to be agreed in recognizing the beauty and transparent flow of language, which matches the best French writing, in rendering with sureness and without effort the thought of the writer."[1]

Apart from their subject-matter, Newman's prose writings will assuredly have a permanent place in the front rank of English literature. His poems can scarcely claim so high a rank, though those contained in the "Lyra Apostolica" and his "Occasional Verses" will not readily be forgotten. The fascinating poem, entitled "The Dream of Gerontius," dedicated to his friend, John Joseph Gordon of the Oratory, is perhaps the most remarkable attempt ever made to realize the passage of a soul from this world through death into the unseen. The well-known chant of "The Fifth Choir of Angelicals," "Praise to the Holiest in the height, and in the depth be praise," has found its way into numerous hymnals, and has been sung at the graveside of many an English Christian, including Mr. Gladstone and Dean Church. If the doctrine of purgatory had always been dealt with in the delicate, reverent manner of this wonderful effort to realize the state of the disembodied spirit, Christendom might have been saved not only the horrors of the mediæval conception of purgatorial fires, but all the disastrous reaction and revolt that has followed them.

"THE DREAM OF GERONTIUS."

"What then,—if such thy lot—thou seest thy Judge,
The sight of Him will kindle in thy heart

[1] *The Guardian*, Aug. 20, 1890.

All tender, gracious, reverential thoughts.
Thou wilt be sick with love, and yearn for Him,
And feel as though thou couldst but pity Him,
That One so sweet should e'er have placed Himself
At disadvantage such, as to be used
So vilely by a being so vile as thee.
There is a pleading in His pensive eyes
Will pierce thee to the quick and trouble thee,
And thou wilt hate and loathe thyself; for though
Now sinless, thou wilt feel that thou hast sinned,
As never thou didst feel; and wilt desire
To slink away, and hide thee from His sight;
And yet wilt have a longing eye to dwell,
Within the beauty of His countenance.
And these two pains, so counter and so keen,
The longing for Him, when thou seest Him not,
The shame of self at thought of seeing Him,
Will be thy veriest, sharpest purgatory."[1]

"*Soul:* 'Take me away, and in the lowest deep
There let me be,
And there in hope the lone night watches keep,
Told out for me.
There, motionless and happy in my pain,
Lone, not forlorn,—
There will I sing my sad perpetual strain
Until the morn.
There will I sing, and soothe my stricken breast,
Which ne'er can cease
To throb and pine and languish, till possest
Of its sole Peace.
There will I sing my absent Lord and Love:
Take me away,
That sooner I may rise and go above,
And see Him in the truth of everlasting day.'"[2]

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[1] "Dream of Gerontius," p. 43.
[2] Ibid., p. 50.

GENERAL ESTIMATE.

What shall be said of the fruits of this long and memorable life? What has Newman done for England and for Rome? He loved England, and said "that when he became a Catholic, he did not cease to be an Englishman." In 1863 he wrote, "Of all human things, perhaps Oxford is nearest my heart — and some parsonages in the country." [1] But he loved the Roman Church for which he had sacrificed so much. He brought to her service a wonderful treasure of gifts, acquired and natural. Did that Communion utilize to the full all that he brought? Has there been any adequate harvest in the Roman Church in England of so great an increase of talent brought into her fold? In the "Life of Cardinal Wiseman," it is clearly shown how great a contrast there is, between the state of the Roman Catholic community in England in the early part of the nineteenth century, and its condition at the present day. But it is just to express a doubt, whether Newman's work for the Roman Church can be compared, for depth of influence or wideness of extent, with that which he exercised in the Church of England before he left her, and even long after he ceased to be a member of her fold. England has a larger share in him than Rome, and England and England's Church have grown more wonderfully and with larger promise of future extension at home and abroad than he ever hoped for his new spiritual Mother. In that remarkable sermon, preached in 1852, called "The Second Spring," he thus spoke of the revival of the Roman Catholic Church in England: "The past is out of date; the past

[1] "Isaac Williams's Autobiography," p. 130.

is dead. As well may the dead live to us, as well may the dead profit us, as the past return. This, then, is the cause of this national transport, this national cry, which encompasses us. The past has returned, the dead lives. Thrones are overturned, and are never restored. States live and die, and then are matter only for history. Babylon was great, and Tyre, and Egypt, and Nineve, and shall never be great again. The English Church was, and the English Church was not, and the English Church is once again. This is the portent, worthy of a cry. It is the coming of a second Spring; it is a restoration in the moral world such as that which yearly takes place in the physical."[1] ". . . A second temple rises on the ruins of the old. Canterbury has gone its way, and York is gone, and Durham is gone, and Winchester is gone. It was sore to part with them. We clung to the vision of past greatness, and would not believe it could come to nought; but the Church in England has died, and the Church lives again. Westminster and Nottingham, Beverley and Hexham, Northampton and Shrewsbury, if the world lasts, shall be names as musical to the ear, as stirring to the heart, as the glories we have lost; and Saints shall rise out of them, if God so will, and doctors once again shall give the law to Israel, and preachers call to penance and to justice, as at the beginning."[2]

Nearly half a century has passed since these fervid words were uttered, and it may be fairly asked how

[1] "The Second Spring:" "Sermons preached on Various Occasions," p. 118.

[2] Ibid., p. 178.

far have the hopes of those who established the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, and of those enthusiastic converts who brought so much culture and ardour to their aid, been fulfilled? The Roman Catholic Church in England has undoubtedly a larger place of outward dignity and respect than she had in the early days of this present century. But is she really gaining a strong hold upon the people of England? Is she even retaining the descendants of the Irish immigration? She has attracted a certain number of cultured persons, and drawn into her ranks some noble souls. None so noble, none so great as John Henry Newman! But that England will ever return into subjection to an Italian Prelate, whose policy is dictated by a retrogressive Curia, that she will ever give up the English Liturgy, the English Bible, and English ways of thinking and acting, is beyond the belief of any thoughtful reader of the signs of the times. If the English people are ever as a whole to become truly Catholic, it will be with a Catholicism robust, manly, and reasonable, not mediæval, scholastic or Jesuit,—a Catholicism more like that of the conception of Newman's Oxford days than that of Faber or Manning, of the Oratory or the Vatican—or rather, perhaps, one not so purely patristic even as his conception, not a mere revival of the methods of the fourth or fifth or sixth centuries; but a Catholicism based upon the Apostolic primitive foundations, united with all the spring and ardour and expansiveness of modern life and thought. Nevertheless, that return to Catholicism will have derived its earliest movement and its most powerful impulse from the self-denying

work of that Oxford School, of which Newman became the ardent, unselfish, learned, and sincere leader, and during ten eventful years laid the foundations of a spiritual restoration unexampled in the history of the Church.

EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY

I.

LIKE all men whose name and character occupy a large place in the religious history of the world, Edward Pusey was brought up in a home full of spiritual influences. His father, the Hon. Philip Bouverie, the son of Viscount Folkstone, was a man of great generosity and religious earnestness, whose character was briefly and truly summed up in the words inscribed on his monument by his sons, "To the memory of Philip Pusey, pious and bounteous." His mother, Lady Lucy, daughter of the Earl of Harborough, was a charitable, conscientious, and affectionate woman, accustomed, however, to conceal her feelings rather than express them. Dr. Pusey often acknowledged the great blessings he received from his mother's influence, and stated that "the doctrine of the Real Presence, I learnt from my mother's explanation of the Catechism, which she had learnt to understand from older clergy." When he was seven years old he was sent to Mitcham to be educated, under the Rev. Richard Roberts, at a preparatory school for Eton, where he had among his schoolfellows the Earl of Derby. Mr. Roberts trained his boys in accurate scholarship, and Pusey always recognized how much he owed to him. His brother Philip

EARLY LIFE.

went with him to Eton in 1812, the celebrated Dr. Keats being head master. Edward Pusey's school life was not, perhaps, a very happy one, for he was a delicate boy, and, though in the country a good rider and excellent shot, did not take part in outdoor games. The years he spent at Eton coincided with the startling events of Napoleon's downfall, and the great battles of Leipzig and Waterloo made an impression upon Pusey's mind, of which interesting evidence was long afterwards given in his sermons, Hebrew lectures, and Bible commentaries. ETON.

Before going up to Oxford, he was sent as a private pupil to the Rev. Edward Maltby, afterwards Bishop of Durham, one of the best classical scholars of the day, who, many years afterwards, in the midst of the Tractarian controversy, though he entirely differed from the principles of the Oxford school, spoke of Pusey as "an old and much-esteemed pupil."

In January, 1819, Pusey went to Christ Church. He had for his tutor the Rev. T. Vowler Short, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, for whom he always felt a very great respect and affection, on account of the religious instruction and earnest teaching he received from him, and to whom he dedicated the first volume of his "Parochial Sermons," praying "that God would bless his peace-loving spirit and his zeal for souls." Among his intimate friends were Lord Ashley, afterwards the well-known Earl of Shaftesbury, and R. W. Jelf. He had some time before formed an attachment for Miss Barker, daughter of a gentleman at Fairford. His parents were averse to any engagement, CHRIST CHURCH.

and their decision cost him much depression and consequent ill-health. In the midst of this mental trial, he set to work to read very hard for his degree, sometimes for sixteen or seventeen hours a day, and when, in Easter term, 1822, he was in the schools and examined *vivâ voce* by John Keble, his scholarship and his knowledge of Aristotle were pronounced to be of the highest excellence. His name appeared in the first class of *Literæ Humaniores* along with Edward Denison, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, Richard Gresswell, and William Gresley.

In the vacation that followed, Pusey travelled in Greece, and during that time his mind appeared to be largely affected by what he called "Byronism." Perhaps what he meant by that was a lack of appreciation of the serious nature of evil, and a sense of disappointment, resulting in a dreamy, listless way of looking upon things, which, to some extent, was caused by the opposition raised to his engagement. During this tour he came in contact with a young man who was largely affected by unbelief, and the efforts of Pusey to remove his friend's doubts had a wholesome result on his own spiritual life.

He was on the most affectionate terms with his brother Philip, who was, after a long engagement, married, in 1822, to Lady Emily Herbert. The Whig principles of this lady's family had long been a stumbling-block in the way of their marriage, so strong a Tory was Pusey's father. She was for thirty years a kind friend to her brother-in-law, a comfort to him in the early days of his widowhood; while he himself

ministered to her in her last hours, to her great comfort and support.

Before he had taken his degree, Pusey had formed the intention of competing for a fellowship at Oriel. He had made the acquaintance of John Keble at Fairford, and was greatly attracted by his personality and character, and on that account anxious to belong to the same college. In the autumn of 1822 he first met Newman, who has described him, as at that time with "a light curly head of hair, walking fast with a young manner of carrying himself." In 1823, on March 29th, the examination for the Fellowship began. Pusey was unwell, and in despair tore up his essay, which was, however, picked up and put together by one of the Fellows, and found to be an excellent one. On a later day he desired to retire, but at the request of the Fellows persevered, and the result was, that he was elected. He now entered the celebrated Common Room at Oriel, and though he never attained that clear, accurate style which was so characteristic of the Fellows of that College, yet he gained one mental qualification, a desire to accumulate all facts that might bear upon a given issue. This is very apparent in some of his writings, as for instance the exhaustive list of authorities accumulated in his tract on "Baptism," his work on "The Real Presence," the "Eirenicon," and also in his book on "Everlasting Punishment." Among the Fellows that he knew best were Hawkins and Newman, Keble having gone to live at Fairford early in 1823. Pusey's character at this time made a deep impression upon Newman, and the two had much intercourse and

ORIEL FELLOWSHIP.

conversation on religious and devotional subjects. Pusey attended the "Divinity Lectures" of Dr. Lloyd, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, and always recalled with respectful gratitude the thoroughness and exhaustive method of his teaching. He has related that, in his first lecture on the Epistle to the Romans, he did not get beyond the first four verses, a manner of exposition very different from what had been usual up to that time. Such a method had much influence on Pusey's own careful and exhaustive method of commenting on Holy Scripture.

GERMANY.

In 1824 he gained the Latin Essay, and, in the following year, failed in his competition for the English one. His education was, however, to be extended greatly beyond the ordinary limits of an English university course; and, in June, 1825, he left England for a prolonged visit to Germany. His object in going there, in obedience to the advice of Dr. Lloyd, was to study thoroughly the language and literature of Germany in the country itself. He had also a great desire to make himself acquainted with the writings of the German critics and theologians. He visited Göttingen and Berlin, and was brought in contact with Eichhorn, Schleiermacher, Tholuck, and Neander. During the time he was abroad he occupied himself, not only with diligent study of the works of the great German writers, but interested himself in the spiritual life and devotions of the German people. Much of the simple piety of the latter seemed to him, as it has to others, to be strangely out of harmony with the rationalism of their pastors. Pusey returned to Oxford

in October, 1825, and spent much of his time in residence at Oriel in studying the Old Testament, and learning Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac. The next year he went once more to Germany, and attended the lectures of Hengstenberg, as well as those of Neander and Schleiermacher. He was most diligent in his study of Arabic, which he had first learned at Oxford, under Dr. Macbride, spending fourteen to sixteen hours a day in this particular branch of reading. At this time he was introduced to Ewald, who had a high opinion of Pusey's Hebrew scholarship, and was on very friendly terms with him; and even in later days Pusey had a kindly feeling towards Ewald, in spite of the serious religious differences which had grown up between them. Pusey suffered the sad loss of his youngest brother at this time, and this, added to excessive work, tried his health to a very serious extent. But the price paid for this important element in the training of Pusey's mind was not, perhaps, too costly; for the knowledge acquired in Germany placed him high in the ranks of accomplished Oriental scholars, and made him well acquainted with the vast field of German theological literature.

Soon after his return home he became definitely engaged to Miss Barker, the objections that his parents had made having quietly passed away. It is interesting to note that even in his early correspondence with the lady who afterwards became his wife, and was always in perfect sympathy with his religious aspirations and work, he discussed deep theological and scriptural questions, as well as the more special personal

experiences which Miss Barker confided to him. It is significant of the bent of his mind that he also showed, at this time, his sympathy with some of the Liberal political movements of the day. Perhaps the stern Toryism of his father caused a kind of reaction in his opinions; but, at all events, he was a keen supporter of Roman Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. In 1828 the election to the Provostship of Oriel, vacant by the appointment of Dr. Copleston to the Bishopric of Llandaff, took place. Pusey, together with Newman and others, voted for Hawkins instead of Keble, and, nearly fifty years afterwards, expressed his deep regret at the part he had taken. "The whole of the later history of our Church might have been changed, had we been wiser; but God, through our ignorance, withdrew him, and it must have been well with him since God so overruled it. To us, it became a sorrow of our lives."[1]

ORDINATION AS DEACON.

Pusey's marriage was postponed on account of the sudden death of his father, but his ordination took place on Trinity Sunday, 1828; and Newman has told us how, on the evening of that day, he read prayers for him in St. Mary's Church, and on the Sunday following assisted him at the Holy Communion. This Pusey himself describes in a letter to Miss Barker, speaking of Newman as "a very valued and dear friend with whom I should most wish to be joined in this Holy Office." Pusey was married to Miss Barker on June 12th, in London, and returned to Oxford three months afterwards. Just

MARRIAGE.

[1] "Sermon preached at Keble College," 1876.

before his ordination he had published a work on the theology of Germany. It was an answer to a volume of four discourses by Hugh James Rose, on the state of Protestantism in Germany, which formed a strong statement of what Rose thought to be a practical "abdication of Christianity" by all shades of German Protestants. Pusey was abroad when the book appeared, and heard much of the resentment felt by the more orthodox German theologians at Rose's statements. Pusey's work was a very thorough-going review of the development of Rationalism in Germany as a reaction against a dead "orthodoxism," and expressed a sanguine expectation that the deep moral earnestness of German writers would in the end lead to a great revival of belief.[1] Mr. Rose replied, and the controversy was a long one. Mr. Rose seemed to find in some of Pusey's statements a criticism of orthodoxy and a tendency to Rationalism; this charge was repeated much later by critics of Dr. Pusey, and some persons actually pointed to his books on Germany as supporting the writers of "Essays and Reviews." Ten years later, however, a kindly correspondence passed between Mr. Rose and Pusey, when both acknowledged that each was contending for a side of truth, not contradictory of the other, though apparently different. Rose spoke of Pusey's far superior knowledge, and Pusey said, "We differed about the causes and extent of Rationalism, not for a moment as to its perniciousness and

BOOKS ON GERMANY.

[1] Many years later Pusey said of this expectation, "I was over sanguine about the restoration of faith then beginning in Germany" ("Lectures on Daniel," pref., p. xxv., note).

shallowness."[1] Pusey, however, in later days expressed his own want of satisfaction with the way in which he had handled the subject, and in his will, dated November 19, 1873, left instructions that his two books on German theology should not be republished.

II.

HEBREW PROFESSORSHIP.

After his return to Oxford, Pusey spent much time in the society of Bishop Lloyd at Christ Church, and in theological as well as Oriental study. He was soon to be called to put the knowledge thus acquired to very important use. In September, 1828, Dr. Nicholl, Regius Professor of Hebrew, died, and on the strong recommendation of Bishop Lloyd, who was thoroughly satisfied that doubts as to Pusey's theological position were unfounded, he was appointed professor.

"What will Pusey do?" said a clergyman who was staying at Cuddesdon. "If," said the Bishop, "he belongs to the old school, he will come over and see me; if to the new, he will write me a letter." Pusey went to see the Bishop, driving all the way from Pusey to Cuddesdon with his wife, to thank Dr. Lloyd for his kind offices. When fault was found with the Duke of Wellington for not appointing a candidate with influential political friends, he replied, "I appointed Mr. Pusey, because I have reason to believe he is the best scholar." The appointment was well received both in England and in Germany,

[1] "Life," vol. i., pp. 176, 177.

where his qualifications for the office were well known. The professorship carried with it a Canonry of Christ Church, and Pusey had necessarily to be ordained priest as soon as possible. The Ordination took place in the parish church of Cuddesdon; he was the only candidate for Orders, and only a few villagers were present besides his own immediate friends. Dr. Pusey's biographer, speaking of the many interesting associations connected with the parish church of All Saints, Cuddesdon, has truly said, "During the episcopate of Bishop Wilberforce there were few men eminent for learning, or work, or character in the Church of England who did not, under the spell of his genius and sympathy, find themselves at some time ministering or worshipping within its walls; and to many hundreds of the clergy that old Norman tower-arch and that narrow chancel are associated with the most solemn experiences of their life. But it may be safely asserted that no event in itself or in its consequences more momentous, more pregnant with influences far-reaching and incalculable, has ever taken place within those walls than was enacted on that dark Sunday in November when Charles Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford, conferred the Order of Priesthood upon Edward Bouverie Pusey."[1]

ORDINATION AS PRIEST.

He was installed as Canon of Christ Church on December 9th, and a few days later celebrated the Holy Communion for the first time at Pusey Church, where he had been baptized. Pusey now came into residence at Christ Church, and took possession of his lodgings, so

[1] "Life," vol. i., p. 190.

well-known in after years to an immense number of English Church people, men and women, who went to seek his advice and spiritual help, to whom the house in the corner of "Tom Quad," with its study lined and strewn with books, became almost a holy spot. He began his lectures with two sets, one elementary, the other more advanced. It is interesting to notice the names of some who attended them—G. Moberly, F. Oakley, G. A. Denison, C. P. Golightly and R. J. Wilberforce. At this time the University election divided Pusey from some of his friends so far as politics were concerned: Pusey supporting Peel; and Newman, Keble and Froude taking the side of Inglis. Bishop Lloyd supported Peel with much power and courage in the House of Lords on the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill, and not long afterwards died, somewhat suddenly, to the great sorrow of Pusey, whose friend and adviser the Bishop had long been. Pusey never relaxed his ardent zeal for Oriental studies, and was occupied for some years with the completion of the Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, a work of great labour and difficulty. He called it "drudgery," and said he envied "the very bricklayers whom I saw at work in the street," and regretted that so much time had of necessity been withdrawn from his study of theology. In November, 1830, Pusey had a very severe illness, from which it is recorded by his biographer that he rose to a still higher level of Christian life, "from the atmosphere of Bonn and Berlin, to that of the Oxford of later years." He was now full of various kinds of work, taking a great interest in the

UNIVERSITY WORK.

Sanscrit Professorship, to which, to Pusey's great regret, Dr. Mill, whom he called "the greatest theologian, in the true sense of that term, which the University of Cambridge had produced since Pearson, certainly the greatest in the present century," just missed being elected by seven votes. He occupied himself also with various translations of Arabic and Hebrew works, and in conjunction with his brother Philip and Dr. Ellerton founded the Hebrew Scholarships, known by their joint names.

Pusey preached his first sermon before the University on October 14, 1832, on Psa. xlv. 6: "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever," and vindicated the Messianic application of the Psalm. Full of activity and versatility, he published at this time a pamphlet on cathedral institutions, in a letter addressed to Lord Henley, who, in a kind of anticipation of the Ecclesiastical Commission, had proposed some very sweeping changes in cathedrals. The plan showed an extraordinary lack of intelligent understanding of the whole subject. Pusey met the charges brought against capitular bodies, and vindicated their name and historical reputation by showing how many illustrious theologians of the English Church had been connected with cathedrals. He contended for the maintenance of the chapters in full strength and numbers, mainly as centres of learning and clerical education.

DEFENCE OF CATHEDRALS.

But other very important purposes to be served by cathedrals did not engage Pusey's attention, and it has been reserved for later writers, like Dean Goulburn, in his "Cathedral System," and Archbishop Benson, in

"The Cathedral," to instruct the Church as to the true position that the cathedrals occupy in the life and work of the Catholic Church. Such teaching has been exemplified in the revived life of English cathedrals everywhere, in the great work done at St. Paul's, and in the foundation of the beautiful cathedral at Truro.

THE TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

In 1833 the great Tractarian Movement was started. The clergy and laity were in a very remarkable manner roused to a sense of the danger that threatened the Church. An address was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by 7,000 clergy and 230,000 lay people, assuring him of their loyal adherence to the doctrine and worship of the English Church. Keble, and Newman, and others had begun to write and circulate the Tracts, but it was not until the end of 1834 that Pusey joined himself to the band of writers. Of the whole number—ninety—he contributed eight; the first of his, No. 18, being on "Fasting." He showed its Divine origin, the blessing that comes from it as a part of self-discipline and an act of obedience to the rule of the Church. It was criticized by Arnold and others, and Pusey answered them in another Tract on the same subject, No. 66.

PUSEY JOINS THE MOVEMENT.

Pusey now distinctly joined the Movement. His accession was regarded by Newman as a great addition of strength. "Dr. Pusey," he writes in the "Apologia," "gave us at once a position and a name." Dean Church justly estimates the great importance of his adhesion to the Tractarian School: "It gave the Movement a second head in close sympathy with its original

leader, but in many ways very different from him. Dr. Pusey became, as it were, its official chief in the eyes of the world. He became, also, in a remarkable degree, a guarantee for its stability and steadiness: a guarantee that its chiefs knew what they were about, and meant nothing but what was for the benefit of the English Church."[1]

His "inflexible patience, serene composure, resolute self-possession" were a most useful restraint and balance to that natural restlessness of temper which friends of the family recognized as belonging to both the brothers Newman, and which, under very different conditions and circumstances, revealed itself in the after career of each. The "hopeful, sanguine mind" of Pusey was the great strength of the party in its hours of trial and distress; it sometimes, in later years, drew forth from Newman a scarcely veiled wonder not unmixed with irritation.

Pusey took a prominent part along with Newman against the attempts of Dr. Hampden to abolish subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles; a measure which seemed to him to be not a little connected with the Latitudinarian and Socinian tendencies of Mr. Blanco White—a singular person, who, originally a Roman Catholic, had been attracted by the Oxford School, and had been on friendly terms with Newman and Pusey, and intimate with Archbishop Whately, but who ended by repudiating the Catholic Creed, and joining the Socinian body. A visit from Tholuck, for whom he had a warm regard, strengthened

HAMPDEN CONTROVERSY.

[1] "Oxford Movement," p. 184.

Pusey in his anxiety to spend his life in defence of the Christian faith, and he devoted himself in the next few months to the special study of the Sacraments: the result of this was his celebrated Tract on Baptism, consisting of three parts, included in Nos. 68, 69, and 70 of the "Tracts for the Times." This is one of the fullest treatments in the English language of the great Sacrament of Regeneration, and is an admirable specimen of Pusey's thorough and exhaustive manner of dealing with great questions.

TRACT ON BAPTISM.

The Tract was largely based, as its title declared, on "Scriptural teaching." It showed how necessary it is not to explain away the plain and literal meaning of the Biblical passages bearing upon the Sacrament. It quoted largely from the Fathers and early liturgies, and drew out the significance of the large number of types of Baptism to be found in the Holy Scriptures. It was said at the time that the teaching of Dr. Pusey and other Tractarian writers, with the strong language used by them concerning Post-Baptismal sin, tended to a kind of Novatian doctrine. This was to some extent recognized by Dr. Pusey himself as a possible danger, and it was for this reason that he afterwards preached on Absolution and the Holy Eucharist those sermons which occasioned so much controversy, but which were intended by him as supplemental to what he had written about the great initial Sacrament of Regeneration.

Anxious to spread in all possible ways a knowledge of Catholic doctrine, he started a Theological Society, which had very great influence on the Oxford Movement;

and papers by Keble, Isaac Williams, Charles Marriott and others, and one by Dr. Pusey himself on the Eucharistic Sacrifice—afterwards developed into the 81st Tract—form a series of able and instructive essays. He also received into his house, and afterwards into lodgings in St. Aldgate's, young men anxious to study theology; among them were J. B. Mozley and Mark Pattison. They were occupied in assisting Dr. Pusey in the publication of "The Library of the Fathers,"—a series of translations of the works of the great doctors of the Eastern and Western Churches, to whom the Anglican Church had always appealed. It was a great undertaking, and brought within the reach of English readers the writings of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, and the two Saints Cyril and others. The translations were exact, and perhaps somewhat rigidly literal. The undertaking was not finally completed until many years afterwards, when, in June, 1882, Pusey wrote: "My work on the Fathers is done;" and even then, "there were," as he said, "gaps not filled up." The work was dedicated to Archbishop Howley. It was illustrated by a frontispiece, familiar to all readers of the work, of St. John the Baptist seated on a rock, with the scroll on the cross-staff, inscribed, "*Vox clamantis in deserto.*" The translation of these great works had been trusted to various younger men, some of whom, like R. W. Church, became afterwards famous writers; and it should be added that, many years later, Dr. Pusey's son Philip did a noble share of patristic literature, in an edition of the writings of St. Cyril of

"LIBRARY OF THE FATHERS."

Alexandria. A kindred publication was that called "The Anglo-Catholic Library," consisting of the works of the Caroline divines, including Andrewes, Laud, Cosin, and others, and brought within easy reach of the public the works of the great Anglican writers of the seventeenth century.

ROMAN CONTROVERSY.

As the publication of the Tracts proceeded, not a few attacks were made, anonymous and otherwise, upon the writers and their teaching; and Pusey and Newman found it necessary to deal with the Roman Catholic controversy. On the one side, Dr. Wiseman was, in a very able and interesting way, lecturing on the doctrines and practices of the Roman Church, and making a considerable impression upon many minds; while, on the other hand, extreme Protestants in pamphlets and tracts were busy in bringing accusations against the Tractarians of teaching Roman doctrines. Amongst others was the publication by Mr. Dickinson of "the Pope's Pastoral Epistle to the Oxford Writers," an imaginary address approving of their advocacy of certain doctrines and practices. Pusey answered this extraordinary pamphlet, and, besides clearing himself from general accusations, distinguished between the Catholic practice of prayers for the dead, as allowed by the English Church, and the Romish doctrine of Purgatory. Newman, even at this time, 1836, was not quite at one with Pusey in his anxiety to guard against possible misconceptions as to the Romanizing tendency of the Tracts. But he was perfectly loyal to his fellow-workers, and zealously defended his friend when he was attacked in the

Christian Observer for his Tract on "Baptism." Among the assailants appeared Mr. Golightly, who began to busy himself actively as an opponent of the movement, and, in spite of a natural kindliness of disposition, for some years frequently stirred up bitter attacks upon the Oxford leaders. These assaults were, to some extent, successful in compelling the authorities to take notice of the leaders of the movement, both as regards their acts and their words. Bishop Bagot, of Oxford, had received a number of communications complaining of trifling innovations in the Service at Littlemore and St. Mary's—matters now regarded as either insignificant or of universal use. But the attack served to indicate a good deal of latent suspicion of the now steadily growing movement. The battle began to be waged elsewhere. Dr. Hook, whose admirable labours at Leeds formed an era in the revival of parochial work in the Church of England, was at this time in entire sympathy with Dr. Pusey and the Tracts. These had been attacked in a Leeds newspaper, and defended by the Vicar, and an interesting correspondence took place between him and Dr. Pusey, indicating their mutual regard and sympathy. The Tracts were attracting notice in high places, for the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was quite friendly to Pusey, appointed as his Chaplain Mr. B. Harrison, Dr. Pusey's assistant Hebrew Lecturer, but required some assurance as to the real character of the Oxford School. Pusey recommended Harrison to accept the offer, hoping that it would form a kind of link between Oxford and London, and the Archbishop and the Tractarian School. But his expectations were

not fulfilled, for, as Dr. Pusey's biographer has said of Harrison, "the traditional caution of Lambeth was too much for him, his tone gradually became more official and less sympathetic. He was as years went on less the friend of the Movement than its critic. . . . Pusey always referred in later years to the move to Lambeth as an unfortunate experiment."

III.

TRACTARIAN CONTROVERSY.

In 1838 the Bishop of Oxford delivered a charge, which, while approving to some extent of the teaching of the Tracts, pointed out what appeared to him to be certain dangerous tendencies. Newman, with his excessive sensitiveness, always feeling "that a Bishop's lightest word, *ex cathedrâ*, was heavy," was in favour of stopping the Tracts at once. Pusey was most unwilling to do this; and, with his usual sanguine temper, endeavoured to encourage Newman, who, at this time, also received some kindly letters from the Bishop. A considerable correspondence ensued between Pusey and the Bishop on the subject of the Tracts. The Bishop said plainly of the language he had used in his charge about the Tracts, "My advice was precautionary and prospective, not inculpatory and retrospective. I think too highly of the authors and their labours in behalf of the Church, not to be anxious to do all that in me lies, both to see them right and to maintain them in their right position."[1]

[1] "Life," vol. ii., p. 61.

New difficulties now began. The project of the "Martyrs' Memorial" at Oxford followed close upon this correspondence. It was started mainly by Mr. Golightly, and was probably intended as a protest against the publication of Froude's "Remains," by Newman and Keble. Pusey endeavoured to obtain from the Bishop of Oxford a modification of the plan, which seemed to him likely to "increase the vulgar impression that we were a new Church at the Reformation." Pusey wished to build a church, instead of merely erecting a monument to do honour to the memory of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and to make it a symbol of the revival of true Catholicism at the Reformation, rather than of the creation of an entirely new Protestant Communion. But the supporters of the memorial, who intended it to be a protest against the Roman Church, and an assertion of the supposed antagonism of the Anglican Reformers to Catholic antiquity, carried the day. In consequence of this, Pusey made up his mind to write a statement of what were the real motives and the actual teaching of the Tractarian School. He did so in the form of his well-known "Letter to the Bishop of Oxford," which remains a valuable exposition of Catholic doctrine on the Sacraments and Ministry of the Church, as held by the Church of England in distinction from Roman error. It was, in fact, an excellent promulgation of the principles of the *Via Media*. The letter was warmly approved of by Dr. Hook; but it is curious to note that Newman, who at this time received his first shock of doubt as to the

THE MARTYRS' MEMORIAL.

LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Catholic position of the English Church, did not quite accept Pusey's statement "that stationariness is a proof of adherence to some fixed and definite standard." Already a difference of tone was beginning to show itself between the two friends. Pusey was calm, and confident, and restful: Newman carried forward by an impulse which he scarcely understood.

DEATH OF HIS WIFE.

Pusey at this time suffered the great bereavement of his life. He had already been much tried by more than one serious illness, and by the loss of his infant daughter, baptized by Newman, concerning whom he once wrote that "the loss of our dear Katherine was not merely a trial of my cheerful surrender of her, but a chastisement to me." And now there came the heavy blow of his wife's death. She had entirely entered into all his aspirations, and cheerfully acquiesced in all the generous sacrifices he made in his contributions to Church extension. She gave up their horses and carriage, and sold all her jewels, that the money might be spent on London churches, Dr. Pusey himself giving £5000 to Bishop Blomfield's fund. She was an active worker amongst the poor in Oxford, and delighted in the daily services of the cathedral. Besides being acquainted with German and Italian, she became a good Latin scholar, and helped her husband in his translations, while she was also able to read the New Testament in Greek. But her health, never very good, gave way early, and was further weakened by their anxiety about the delicate state of their son, Philip. She had been baptized by a Dissenter, and, feeling real scruples on the subject—not unnatural,

when it is remembered how lax and careless was the manner of administering Holy Baptism in her youth—was anxious to be baptized conditionally. After long hesitation on the part of Dr. Pusey, with the Bishop's sanction she was conditionally baptized by Newman in St. Mary's Church. Various changes of air and scene were tried, but her case was pronounced hopeless, and she died on May 26, 1839, and was buried in the nave of Christ Church Cathedral, where, many years after, her husband was laid beside her. It is interesting to note that "something more than a quarter of a century had passed when, through the enterprise of Dean Gaisford's successor, Dr. Liddell, the cathedral was restored. The choir was paved at its restoration with marble; but few earthly things gave Pusey greater pleasure in his later life than the discovery that, through the consideration of the Dean, the original humble sandstone slab had been left in its place undisturbed."[1]

SELF-DISCIPLINE.

This great sorrow had a profound effect upon Pusey's life and character. It not only was to himself "an ever-present memory," but was undoubtedly the means of enabling him to give the tenderest and deepest sympathy to others suffering from bereavement. He now withdrew from general society. His loss made him peculiarly sensitive to his own supposed shortcomings. It led him to a more strict method of self-discipline, and lent a very solemn tone to his preaching. J. B. Mozley notices how, in his first sermon preached after his wife's death, he came to a complete standstill, and, dropping his voice after he had

[1] "Life," vol. ii., p. 104.

recovered himself, added a very serious admonition against self-indulgence amidst "breathless silence in the church." After the first crushing effects of his loss were somewhat lightened he set himself to work once more. He gave great attention to assisting Keble in his metrical version of the Psalter, pointing out to the author anything that was not strictly accurate in the translation. The consequence is that Keble's book "is free from the defects which generally attach to a metrical system, indeed, in some respects, it is a more accurate rendering of the Hebrew than the Authorized Version itself."[1] Pusey was anxious to obtain from the Bishop of Oxford his authority for the use of this version. The matter was referred to the Archbishop, who declined to recommend any episcopal sanction for its public use. A further instance of the unwillingness of the Episcopate to commit themselves to new enterprises, was the reluctance of the Archbishop to sanction a proposal for a "Prayer Union," intended to unite Churchmen of different shades of opinion in supplications on behalf of the Church and its work. The proposal therefore failed at the time in its object, but from it sprang the forms of prayer used by members of the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, a society that has existed up to the present day in the University; and also much that is contained in the intercessory manual of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley.

KEBLE'S PSALTER.

Various questions at this time occupied Pusey's mind, and caused him no little anxiety: first, Newman's desire to found a kind of religious house at Littlemore, which never quite

TROUBLES AND DIFFICULTIES.

[1] "Life," vol. ii., p. 114.

approved itself to his mind; next, was the growing tendency to use Pusey's name as the designation of a party,—this he greatly disliked, though he took the trouble to write a letter explaining to a correspondent what those who used the nickname meant by it, viz. a belief in the Sacraments, Episcopacy, the visible Church, her fasts and festivals, her creeds and authority.

There began now to be heard rumours of individuals becoming unsettled, and even seceding to the Church of Rome. Pusey consulted Archdeacon Manning as to the best methods of dealing with persons disturbed in their minds, and received from him much useful information and assistance. Newman and Pusey also had some correspondence on this subject, and both of them felt that decided steps should be taken to prevent the loss of some of the most earnest lay disciples of the movement.

The opponents of the Oxford School were now gathering their strength for an attack upon its leaders, and the opportunity for doing so was placed in their hands by the publication of Tract 90. The main contentions of this Tract were entirely in harmony with what Keble and Pusey had been teaching, and, though Pusey might have wished some details different, he felt then what he said nearly thirty years afterwards, "For myself I believe that Tract 90 did a great work in clearing the Articles from the glosses which, like barnacles, had enclustered round. I believe that that work will never be undone while the Articles shall last."

TRACT XC.

The attack upon the Tract and its author by "the Four

Tutors" was met, both by Keble and Pusey, who wrote to the Vice-Chancellor accepting their responsibility as having seen and approved of it before publication. They endeavoured to prevent, without success, the publication of the censure of the Board of Heads of Houses. But Pusey wrote to the Bishop of Oxford, explaining that Newman's intention, as well as much of his language, had been misunderstood, and assuring him that the writer was ready to do anything that the Bishop desired in the matter. The Bishop, in his anxiety to be just, and at the same time to remove the bad impression created in the public mind, had an interview with Dr. Pusey at Cuddesdon, and the result was a letter from Newman, submitting to the Bishop's wish that the Tracts should be discontinued.

PUSEY'S DEFENCE.

There was a great deal of dissatisfaction felt and expressed amongst the High Church Party at the discontinuance of the Tracts. William Palmer wrote to the Bishop, deprecating any concession to popular clamour, speaking as he did in the name of the moderate High Churchmen. A perfect deluge of pamphlets was let loose. Dr. Hook most generously put aside his own feelings about the details of the Tract, and in a very impetuous speech at Leeds defended the Oxford Party. Dr. Wiseman entered the field of controversy, and criticized the distinction drawn in the Tract between the Decrees of Trent and the present teaching of the Church of Rome. He was answered by William Palmer very ably. Pusey himself wrote a long letter to his friend, Dr. Jelf, which plainly condemned the exaggerations of Rome, while

pointing out that the Articles, as interpreted in their plain sense, were not meant to deny doctrines and practices which were primitive. It is interesting to remember that Archdeacon Manning was specially grateful to Dr. Pusey for the parts of his letter which were directed against exaggerated devotion to the Blessed Virgin. But these more moderate defenders of Tract 90 were much disturbed by the publication of two pamphlets by Mr. W. G. Ward, which went far beyond the ground taken up by Newman in the Tract. The writer was soon afterwards inhibited from preaching in Margaret Chapel, of which his friend, the Rev. F. Oakley, was incumbent. Oakley himself also wrote an article in the *British Critic*, containing severe criticisms on the English Reformation. Pusey was greatly distressed at the action of these two writers, who appeared to be drawing the Movement into a most dangerous position. Newman was inclined to think better of the action of Oakley and Ward, and it became more and more evident to the world that the Oxford Party was being divided into two camps. It is not a matter of surprise, after all that we now know of the working of Newman's mind at the time, that this divergence was making itself felt. Not only the extreme wing of the party, but many moderate men were further disturbed by the action of the Bishop of Winchester in declining to ordain the Rev. Peter Young, curate of Hursley, as Priest, because of his belief in the Real Presence. Something of the same kind was also done by Bishop Blomfield; and Dr. Pusey, feeling the seriousness of the event, visited the Archbishop, who, while

OAKLEY AND WARD.

dealing with the question in a very kind manner, declined to interfere. Six other Bishops began, one after another, to deliver charges more or less in condemnation of Tract 90, and even of other writings of the Oxford School. This painful state of things caused Pusey to write and publish a letter to the Archbishop,

EPISCOPAL CHARGES.

complaining of the serious effects of the Episcopal charges, in encouraging extreme attacks upon the supporters of Sacramental and Catholic doctrines: and he expressed his serious apprehension lest the effect would be a lamentable secession from the Church of England. "What we fear is, lest a deep despondency about ourselves and our Church come over people's minds, and they abandon her, as thinking her case hopeless; or, lest individuals, who are removed from the sobering influence of this ancient home of the Church, should become fretted and impatient at these unsympathizing condemnations, and the continued harassing of the unseemly strife now carried on under the shelter of your Lordships' names, and, losing patience, should lose also the guidance vouchsafed to the patient."[1]

Pusey, in the summer of 1841, was in Ireland, and had the painful experience of being treated by his former friend, Archbishop Whately, in a very cold manner; not being absolutely forbidden to preach, but recommended not to do so. While he was there, the

THE JERUSALEM BISHOPRIC.

affair of the Jerusalem bishopric came before the public. Pusey was sanguine enough to hope, that an English Bishop might exercise

[1] "Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury," pp. 71–75, 3rd edit.

a good influence over the Prussian Protestants; but Newman and Dr. Mill felt very strongly against it, and vigorous protests were sent to the Archbishop. Gladstone disliked the whole project as "inaugurating an experimental or fancy Church," and depreciating Anglican principles. Pusey soon felt how true this was, and his knowledge of Germany and of Lutheran teaching enabled him to point out to the Archbishop how dangerous a step had been taken. One result undoubtedly was, to add an additional cause of unsettlement of Newman's confidence in the Church of England.

THE PROFESSORSHIP OF POETRY.

Another occasion of controversy was the election to the poetry professorship. Isaac Williams was regarded as the candidate of the Tractarians, and, though he was undoubtedly, in all respects, fitted for the post, the Protestant Party determined to oppose him, and issued circulars canvassing for votes in behalf of Mr. Garbett of B.N.C. Pusey, perhaps not very wisely, made a counter movement, and wrote a letter which was sent to all members of Convocation. A strong feeling of partisanship was aroused, and the result was that the Bishop of Oxford intervened, recommending the withdrawal of both candidates. In the end, Mr. Garbett's committee declined to take this course, and Mr. Williams's name was withdrawn from the contest. But a great deal of soreness was felt by the Tractarian Party, who saw themselves defeated and misjudged in all directions. Soon after this, an attempt was made to remove the censure passed on Dr. Hampden; but, in spite of considerable efforts on the part of his supporters, the

censure was reaffirmed. Dr. Pusey was increasingly distressed by Newman's evidently growing loss of confidence, and this was largely increased by Newman's retractation of his controversial language against the Church of Rome.

THE CONDEMNED SERMON.

And now one of the most important events in Pusey's life took place, one which, more than anything else, tested and exhibited his patience under trial and unjust suspicion, and proved his faithfulness and loyalty to the Church of England. On May 14, 1843, he preached his celebrated sermon on "The Holy Eucharist, a Comfort to the Penitent." It was a practical and uncontroversial discourse; it implied, rather than stated, the doctrine of the "Real Presence," and, as he himself said long afterwards, "its one object was to inculcate the love of our Redeemer for us sinners, in the Holy Eucharist, both as a Sacrament and a Commemorative Sacrifice." Most of the congregation listened to it with reverent admiration, and, as J. B. Mozley records, "all on a sudden comes, like a clap of thunder on the ear, the news that the board of heresy is summoned to sit on Dr. Pusey." The Vice-Chancellor sent for a copy of the sermon, and with it Pusey forwarded some extracts from the Fathers illustrating his statements on the Eucharist. These extracts afterwards were enlarged into that exhaustive *catena* of authorities published under the title of "The Doctrine of the Real Presence," ranging from the time of St. Ignatius down to St. Leo. Pusey plainly pointed out, in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, that he had always decidedly expressed his rejection

of the dogma of Transubstantiation, and desired to hold the doctrine accepted by Anglican divines, in accordance with the teaching of the "collective ancient Church." The court of six doctors was assembled: it included Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel, who was, in fact, the person that took the part of accuser, and well known to be strongly opposed to the Tractarians; and the verdict given was the condemnation of the sermon as contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England. Pusey was allowed no opportunity of defending himself before the court, and was ordered to recant under pain of suspension. Dr. Jelf acted as an intermediary, and two attempts were made, without final success, to draw up a form of recantation that would be acceptable. The result was that Pusey was suspended. He made a protest against a condemnation of one unheard in his defence, and the University at large certainly regarded the whole affair as very extraordinary. Some lay members of the University in the country, including Mr. Gladstone and Sir John Coleridge, sent a protest to the Vice-Chancellor, without, however, altering the position of affairs. What was felt at the time can be best understood from a paper written by Isaac Williams, in which he said, "Nothing has occurred in our own time, so pregnant with great consequences, as the late conspiracy in Oxford. . . . Men look at each other as if some wicked thing had been perpetrated, on which they could not venture to speak. In all, there is a deep feeling that it is not to end here, and a sense of love and reverence for the injured person strongly entertained. . . . There

THE UNJUST TREATMENT OF THE PREACHER.

is also a very general impression, that the sermon itself is no more than a handle for a preconcerted measure; which is confirmed by the fact that they have resolutely refused to mention any one objectionable proposition in the sermon, or in what way it is discordant with the Church of England. All I have met with consider the sermon very innocent and unexceptionable."[1] On the recommendation of his friends, the sermon with a preface and full notes was published, and was warmly received. Gladstone wrote: "I cannot tell you with what warm appreciation I read your preface." Dr. Hook, in his impulsive way, said, "My poor wife is crying over your protest, and I can scarcely restrain myself. I remembered you to-day at the altar;" and shortly afterwards he dedicated to Pusey a sermon preached at the dedication of Hawarden Church. It was a very extraordinary comment upon the action of the six Doctors that, at the Commemoration in that same year, an honorary degree was conferred upon an American Socinian. Pusey was advised to test the legality of his suspension in the law-courts. But on the advice of the Bishop of Oxford, who, without condemning the sermon, would not allow Dr. Pusey to quote him as approving of it, the suggestion was not carried into action. The effect upon the University was to call men's attention to the need of University reform. It was, as Dean Church said, plain that "the policy of the authorities was wrong, stupid, unjust, pernicious." It had also the serious effect of making younger men

[1] "Isaac Williams's Autobiography," pp. 136, 137.

distrust the leaders who were responsible for the government of the Church and University.

NEWMAN AND PUSEY.

Before the beginning of the term after Pusey's suspension, Newman resigned the vicarage of St. Mary's, and with it his work at Littlemore. Pusey was present at the anniversary of the consecration of the little church at the latter place, and was the celebrant of the Holy Eucharist. He came home, after hearing Newman's last sad sermon, "half broken-hearted," as he said, only to hear within a month of the secession of Mr. Seager, his assistant Hebrew lecturer. This, and Newman's resignation, caused great anxiety to Pusey and his friends. During the following months he often walked out to Littlemore, where Newman was living in retirement; and, with his sanguine temper, he hoped against hope, trusting that his friend might still remain faithful to the English Church. His own heart was sorely tried at this time by the illness of his son Philip, and the death in the early part of the next year of his daughter Lucy. Pusey, always anxious to seek for consolation in devotion, and hoping also to aid other souls, began a series of adaptations of foreign devotional books.[1] Keble approved of it, but Newman instinctively felt that the plan would prepare people's minds to join the Church of Rome. And yet, Jeremy Taylor and Wesley had adapted similar works, as well as Bishop Andrewes and Archbishop Laud. Such adaptations, however, became

THE ROMAN BOOKS OF DEVOTION.

[1] Among these may be mentioned Avrillon's "Guide to Lent;" "The Spiritual Combat," by Scupoli; the "Paradise of the Christian Soul;" "The Sufferings of Jesus," by Fra Thome.

in later years a cause of reproach against Dr. Pusey. Events at Oxford followed quickly upon one another, all of them tending to the disparagement of the Tractarian Party. An attempt on the part of the latter to oppose the appointment of Dr. Symons of Wadham, as Vice-Chancellor, was defeated by an overwhelming majority. Mr. W. G. Ward, Fellow of Balliol, published his work on "The Ideal of a Christian Church." It was practically a glorification of the Roman system, and a depreciation of the Church of England. It caused so much alarm that the heads of Houses proposed a new test, which was afterwards withdrawn, but a determined attempt was made to condemn Tract 90, which was only defeated by the courageous action of the proctors in vetoing the proposed censure. Mr. Oakley, of Margaret Chapel, was, a few months after this, condemned in the Court of Arches for holding Roman doctrine.

These events were followed by many letters between Pusey, and Keble and Newman, on the much-dreaded subject of the approaching secession of the last named. Pusey was asked by more than one person to write some public statement against Rome, but thought it much better to work quietly, and pray for the revival of true Catholicism in the Church of England. On October 3rd Newman wrote to Pusey, announcing the resignation of his Fellowship, saying, "anything may happen to me now any day," and on October 9th he was received into the Roman Church. A week afterwards Pusey wrote a letter to an ideal or imaginary friend, which was published in the "English Churchman."

NEWMAN'S SECESSION.

It was full of pathetic regret at the loss of Newman. "Our Church," he said, "has not known how to employ him." And yet he could not say he was lost to him, for "he seems to me, not so much gone from us, as transplanted into another part of the vineyard, where the full energies of his powerful mind can be employed, which here they cannot." But he was far from despairing: "For myself, I am even now far more hopeful as to our Church than at any former period, far more than, when outwardly, things seemed most prosperous. . . . The growth of life in our Church has not been the mere stirring of individuals. . . . It was not through their agency, nor through their writings, but through God's Holy Spirit dwelling in His Church, vouchsafed through His Ordinances, teaching us to value them more deeply, to seek them more habitually, to draw fresh life from them, that this life has sprung up enlarged, deepened." Keble, who felt that a "thunderbolt" had fallen, was deeply moved and comforted by this letter, so full of patient and faithful confidence.

PUSEY'S STEADFASTNESS.

Some people thought that Pusey would soon follow his friend in the step that he had taken. But even Newman himself knew differently. Many years afterwards he wrote, "People are apt to say that he (Pusey) was once nearer to the Catholic Church than he is now: I pray God that he may one day be far nearer to the Catholic Church than he was then; for I believe that, in his reason and judgment, all the time that I knew him, he never was near to it at all."[1]

[1] "Apologia," p. 138.

ST. SAVIOUR'S, LEEDS.

Newman's secession happened at a peculiarly unfortunate time for a special enterprise of Pusey's. This was the consecration of the church that he had erected at Leeds, at a cost of £6000, given anonymously. He had wished that it should be dedicated under the designation of the "Holy Cross," his baptismal day being on September 14th, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The Bishop of Ripon objected to this title, as well as to an inscription asking for prayers for the founder of the church. The title was changed to "St. Saviour's," but the inscription was allowed to remain, on the ground that the founder was still alive, and can be read to this day: "Ye who enter this holy place, pray for the sinner who built it." The church was built among the dwellings of the factory people of Leeds, and was one of the first attempts to bring home the full Catholic teaching of the Tracts, to the poor of the great towns of England. Since then, hundreds of similar centres of home-mission work on Catholic principles have been created, carried on, and greatly blessed. But the story of St. Saviour's, Leeds, was to be a chequered and somewhat sad one. It began under the cloud of Newman's secession; and though its consecration and its Octave Services were felt to be "a blessed, peaceful week," though Dr. Hook was a genial co-operator at the first, before many years passed great troubles arose. Differences sprang up between Hook and Pusey, many secessions took place among the clergy; and Pusey, to use the expression of his biographers, "reaped two sad harvests of disappointment" on two very serious

occasions, when the clerical staff was broken up and the work terribly hindered. And yet there were bright spots in the story—"boys, mechanics, and mill-girls using confession," devout and reverent Eucharists, large numbers of the Leeds poor won to a deep affection to the Church; and, among the clergy, two noble names stand out as faithful when others fell away—Mr. Beckett, afterwards Canon of Bloemfontein, and Mr. Gutch, afterwards Incumbent of St. Cyprian's, Marylebone. For many years past an admirable work has been carried on there under the present Vicar, the Rev. J. Wylde, and Dr. Pusey's alms and prayers have borne much blessed fruit.

IV.

Pusey now set himself earnestly to a work which he had for some time felt was very needful for the Church's welfare, and that was the foundation of Sisterhoods. Many Anglican writers of the seventeenth century had re-echoed the eulogies of the Fathers on the consecrated life of virgins, and Nicholas Ferrar had established a religious community at Little Gidding, in the time of Charles I. Pusey had hoped that his own daughter, Lucy, would be the first to join some community of the kind. But it was not to be; she was called away from this world and its work. Nevertheless, in the spring of 1845, a number of earnest laymen, including Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Beresford Hope, undertook to raise funds for the erection of

SISTERHOODS.

buildings and maintenance of a Sisterhood. The small community of devout ladies was started at Park Village West, on Easter Monday, 1845, with a rule of life, including the recitation of the seven hours of the Breviary, in addition to the Daily Offices of the English Prayer-book. They worked under Mr. Dodsworth of Christ Church, Albany Street, visiting the poor in the neighbourhood of the Regent's Park, and teaching in Ragged Schools. Three or four years later, Miss Sellon began a similar work at Devonport, where a devoted community has laboured among the poor and outcast for many years. Not a little criticism and opposition was aroused ; strange, if not fabulous, charges were brought ; but Bishop Phillpotts, of Exeter, gave their work his approval and support, and the opposition was largely disarmed by the splendid acts of self-devotion manifested by the Sisters, when, in 1849, they volunteered to visit the sick and dying during the great outbreak of cholera in the parish of St. Peter's, over which the venerable and beloved Vicar, the Rev. G. R. Prynne, still presides. These early days of Anglican Sisterhoods, and the tentative efforts to establish religious communities, were but the beginnings of that great and successful creation of so many religious societies of women, that have now come to be regarded as indispensable to the life and work of the English Church at home and abroad. The name and garb of a Sister of Mercy fifty years ago served too often to provoke scorn, prejudice, and dislike. They are now everywhere accepted as the symbols of a life of self-devotion, and loving ministrations to the suffering members of Christ.

Almost at the time that the Church was convulsed by Newman's secession, Dr. Samuel Wilberforce was appointed Bishop of Oxford. He was five years younger than Pusey, and had been brought up in the strict Evangelical School. He had never felt quite in harmony with the Tractarian writers, and had specially disliked Pusey's Tract on Baptism. He failed to understand Pusey's position, and misjudged both his teaching and his manner of expressing himself, which seemed to Wilberforce to be egotistical and insincere. Pusey took occasion of the Bishop's appointment to write a letter of explanation, which failed to win the new Bishop's approval, and the result was that his episcopate began with a strong prejudice against the actual leader of the Tractarian Movement.

BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

The time now came for Pusey to preach after his period of suspension had elapsed. Mr. Golightly stirred up the Vice-Chancellor to require a special subscription to the Articles before he was allowed to occupy the University pulpit. The Vice-Chancellor, without consenting to this, plainly told Dr. Pusey, in a written communication, that he distrusted him as a teacher. On February 1, 1846, Pusey preached his memorable sermon on "The Entire Absolution of the Penitent." The church was completely thronged, every inch of space was occupied; Pusey passed up the cathedral with "his perfectly pallid, furrowed, mortified face, looking almost like jagged marble, immovably serene withal, and with eyes fixed in deep humility on the ground."[1] He referred to his sermon on the

SERMON ON ABSOLUTION.

[1] Letter by J. B. Mozley. Quoted in "Life of Pusey," vol. iii., p. 60.

Eucharist, as having been intended to exhibit to the penitent one great means of restoration, and in a few words he reasserted plainly the doctrine it contained. He then, in a very practical and yet tender way, unfolded the Church's teaching on Confession and Absolution. Of the whole sermon it has been well said, "Even after the lapse of years, the sermon cannot be read without renewing something of that moral and spiritual glow which illuminated the souls of the majority of the great congregation which listened to it. The concluding paragraphs are a magnificent exhortation to those who have sinned deeply, and have been pardoned, to devote their lives to some self-denying form of Christian work."[1]

PUSEY'S SELF-HUMILIATION.

No attempt was made on this occasion to censure the sermon. Pusey had been careful to use the language of the Prayer-book, and of recognized Anglican divines; and the sermon, after publication, was quietly received, and by many leading clergymen thoroughly approved. The doctrine of the sermon was something more to Pusey than a mere academic theory. He was led on at this time to greater efforts at self-discipline, self-humiliation, and the use of private confession in his own case. He sought counsel and direction from Keble, and set himself more and more to take a lowly place and form a humble estimate of himself. Some persons have criticized not only the language that he used of his own unworthiness, but the whole attitude of his mind, as revealing a lack of joyousness, an element in the

[1] "Life," vol. iii. p. 64.

Christian life as essential at least as that of humility. Bishop Walsham How, whose own religious temperament was particularly bright and sunny, when Pusey's life was published, expressed his regret at this apparent lack in Pusey's spiritual life. But it has been recorded that Pusey's favourite text was, "Rejoice in the Lord alway." Dr. Liddon has related that, during a very serious illness, when all around him thought that Dr. Pusey was quite unconscious, he said afterwards that he was "well occupied." In answer to the question, "What were you doing?" he replied, "By God's mercy I could remember the Epistle for the Fourth Sunday in Advent, out of the Philippians, which begins, 'Rejoice in the Lord alway.' This I made a framework for prayer; saying the Lord's prayer two or three times between each clause, and so dwelling on the several relations of each clause to each petition in the Lord's prayer." This lasted four or five hours, and then he began again: "I was very happy," he said, "and, had it been God's will, did not wish to get better."[1] Assuredly, in the lives of the holiest persons, there is often a remarkable combination of the deepest self-humiliation, and even vehement self-condemnation, with a never-absent sense of the Divine presence and the Divine love. The Psalter is full of such intermingling of apparently contradictory spiritual experiences, and it is no greater matter for surprise that this was the case in a man like Pusey, than in that of Henry Martyn or other devout servants of God of whom the same has been recorded.

[1] "Passiontide Sermons," xvii. p. 271.

For no little time Pusey had much solitude to endure and no little persecution to bear. The troubles at St. Saviour's, Leeds, and the constant attacks of Protestants in the press and on platforms, kept him painfully conscious of the suspicions under which his life was passed. He was accused, not only of leading people to Rome, but actually of recommending them to secede. Once more he was urged to take publicly an anti-Roman attitude, and again he declined. Declamation, he thought, was not the best way to retain people within the Church of England. He turned away as much as possible from controversy to a subject very near his heart, a commentary on the Bible, to be undertaken by some of the Oxford writers, among whom were mentioned Keble, Mill, Moberly, Manning, and Isaac Williams. But events that followed prevented the successful carrying out of the project, and all that was achieved was Pusey's own share of it: and a most valuable work it is, the "Commentary on the Minor Prophets," which was not completed until many years afterwards.

BIBLE COMMENTARY.

Two very serious events occurred within the next few years: the first was the nomination of Dr. Hampden to the bishopric of Hereford. It was thought, not without reason, that this selection, and a similar one of Dr. Lee to Manchester, were intended as a distinct blow on the part of the Government to the Oxford Party. Pusey and Keble thought it their duty to take every step to challenge the appointment. But the Chapter of Hereford elected Dr. Hampden with one dissentient, and,

DR. HAMPDEN, BISHOP OF HEREFORD.

when the Confirmation took place at Bow Church, it was ruled that, though objectors were invited to come forward, no objection could legally be heard. An appeal was made to the Court of Queen's Bench for a *mandamus* to compel the Archbishop to hear objections; but the judges were equally divided, and the appeal failed. Half a century has elapsed, and still, from time to time, the old farce is repeated, and the Church has to stand by, in enforced silence, when the solemn Confirmation of an elected Bishop takes place in the Court of the Metropolitan. Her only safeguard, perhaps an increasingly sure one, rests on the faithfulness of the Archbishop and his Suffragans, who may be trusted to refuse consecration to an unworthy or heretical person.

The other event was the case of Mr. Gorham. Appointed to a benefice in the diocese of Exeter, to which the Bishop, after a long examination, declined to institute him on account of his unsound views on Holy Baptism, Mr. Gorham moved the Court of Arches to compel the Bishop to admit him to the living. The Dean, Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, upheld Dr. Phillpotts' action; but, on an appeal to the Privy Council, Mr. Gorham was pronounced not to have gone beyond or come short of the teaching of the Church of England. Though the decision of the Court was grounded on statements not quite identical with those advanced by Mr. Gorham, nevertheless, in the eyes of the public, it appeared that the highest authorities of the Church of England had decided to treat the grace and efficacy of Baptism as an open

THE GORHAM CONTROVERSY.

question; and, in spite of great efforts on the part of the Bishop of Exeter to obtain some statement from the Primate and the other Bishops, clearing the Church, and his steady refusal to institute Mr. Gorham, the latter was instituted by the Dean of Arches, under the authority of the Archbishop. A most serious state of feeling was aroused. Public meetings were held, and protests signed and presented. The principal questions that caused anxiety were, firstly, the apparent denial of the Church's teaching on Holy Baptism, and, secondly, the usurpation of a civil Court to decide questions of Church doctrine and discipline. Pusey endeavoured to take up a calm and moderate attitude. But some of the more vehement minds were discontented with any appearance of compromise, and, before long, important secessions took place—Mr. Maskell and Mr. Allies, Mr. Dodsworth and H. W. Wilberforce left the Church of England. Perhaps the most important secession at this time was that of Archdeacon Manning. He, in earlier days, had been "a loyal and somewhat stiff Anglican." He had been decidedly anti-Roman, and had used language far less charitable towards the Roman Church than Pusey ever permitted himself to employ. But when the question of Church authority and the invasion of it by the royal supremacy came to the front, Manning, whose mind was always largely influenced by theories of law and authority, thought that the Anglican Church stood revealed as the mere creation of the Royal Supremacy. It is not surprising that, when he did secede, he committed himself to the exaggerated form of Papal

MANNING SECEDES.

authority known as Ultramontanism. Another very serious loss to the Anglican Church was that of Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce. He was a theologian of no little ability, and had published a remarkable work on the Incarnation, which still holds its place as a standard book. This was followed up by a work on Holy Baptism, and, later on, by another on the Holy Eucharist. He had for some years been very much disturbed in his mind on questions concerning the Royal Supremacy, and the lack of decisive action by Anglican ecclesiastical authorities after the Gorham decision greatly shook his faith, and four years later he followed the example of Manning, and was admitted into the Roman Church.

Looking back after the lapse of nearly half a century, it is not difficult to sympathize with the feelings of alarm and almost despair under the heavy blows that shook the confidence of such able men as the seceders of 1850. Since that time, however, Churchmen have learnt to distinguish between the voice of the Church herself, and the unauthorized statements of Courts that have, in the minds of Catholics, no claim to real spiritual jurisdiction. The case is bad enough at the present time: it is altogether monstrous that a Court never intended to pronounce decisions on spiritual cases should, even in appearance, decide questions involving the doctrine and worship of the Church, as if it were a sacred synod. But in those days the Court was regarded by most people as a spiritual tribunal, and its judgments sounded like the utterances of the voice of the Church herself; and the consequences were most disastrous. There

still remains for Catholic Churchmen the necessary, though difficult, task of restoring the lawful machinery of ecclesiastical Courts, and of adjusting them with the right of every citizen to appeal to the Crown for justice in the last resource.

V.

PAPAL AGGRESSION.

The much tried Tractarians had no sooner recovered, to some slight extent, the heavy blow of the Gorham judgment than there occurred that period of excitement occasioned by the "Papal Aggression." Pius IX. took upon himself to establish a new hierarchy in England, with an Archbishop and twelve Suffragans. Dr. Wiseman, Cardinal and "Archbishop of Westminster," published a somewhat verbose and grandiose letter from Rome, announcing that he had been appointed to rule over the Province and the Diocese assigned to him in England by the Pope. This, and the whole action of the Court of Rome, not unnaturally caused great irritation, both in the Church, and also in the country at large. A hasty and, as it turned out, a futile Act of Parliament was passed, making the use of ecclesiastical titles created by the Pope illegal. Lord John Russell wrote his notorious letter to the Bishop of Durham, including in the same attack the Roman aggression and what he called "the mummeries of High Church superstition." The popular feeling was roused against the Tractarians, and was to a certain extent encouraged by some of

the language used by Bishop Blomfield, of London, in his charge. Dr. Pusey felt called upon to answer some of the objections raised by the Bishop, and he did so in a very remarkable letter, defending his teaching on the Holy Eucharist and Absolution, as well as explaining his motives in adapting certain Roman Catholic books of devotion. He declared that he was free from all taint of Romanism, and said of his teaching and that of his friends, "It was out of Holy Scripture and the formularies of the Church that Tractarianism arose. It was cherished by our English divines, it was deepened by the Fathers, it was ripened while most of the writers knew scarcely a Roman book, and only controversially. Tractarianism was entirely the birth of the English Church."[1]

LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

Dr. Pusey had another trial to bear. His own Bishop who, five years before, had entered on his episcopate full of distrust of Pusey's work, now complained of his adaptation of Roman Catholic books, and other details of practice and teaching. Pusey earnestly strove to remove the Bishop's objections, but without success; and Dr. Wilberforce proceeded to inhibit Dr. Pusey from preaching, except in his native parish, Pusey, where his ministrations would be "harmless." Keble endeavoured to mediate, and strongly urged upon the Bishop that, so far from Pusey's teaching leading people to Rome, no one had done more to check secession. A long correspondence ensued, and in the end the inhibition was withdrawn. After this time happier relations existed between Pusey and his Bishop, and

INHIBITION.

[1] "Letter to the Bishop of London," p. 259.

in later days Dr. Wilberforce invited him, year after year, to preach in the well-known Lenten Courses at St. Mary's and St. Giles', Oxford.

In spite of the heavy blows received, and the many hindrances that gathered round the Tractarian School, its principles were slowly making way. The Gorham judgment raised in men's minds the whole subject of Church synods. Bishop Phillpotts, at Exeter, had called a diocesan synod to deal with the Gorham judgment: in the Colonies and in America, ecclesiastical assemblies, more or less moulded on ancient lines, had been established; and in November, 1852, through the efforts of some devoted Churchmen, Convocation met for business after an interval of 135 years. The results of this revival of England's sacred synods, after more than forty years of trial, may not have produced any very great or remarkable fruits, such as the enactment of new canons; but it would be a serious mistake to imagine that the meetings of Convocation have been, and still are, nothing more than the debates of an ecclesiastical society. They have had a very great educational value, and some direct as well as indirect results of a beneficial kind. Men have at least begun to learn the lesson that the Church is not a mere department of the Civil Service; that she has a voice of her own, as well as a constitution and an origin independent of, and antecedent to, that of the State. And Convocation, in alliance with Houses of Laymen, will find increasing opportunities of usefulness, and win an increasing measure of respect.

REVIVAL OF CONVOCATION.

The controversy on Holy Baptism was soon to be followed by one equally serious on the Holy Eucharist. Pusey preached a sermon in 1853, exactly ten years after the celebrated discourse which had been condemned, without any open opposition or attack taking place. But Archdeacon Denison delivered three sermons in Wells Cathedral, plainly teaching the doctrine of the Real Presence and all that it involved. Mr. Ditcher, Vicar of South Brent, thought it his duty to accuse the Archdeacon of false doctrine, and the latter was cited to appear before the Archbishop on a charge of heresy. Pusey published, in 1855, his remarkable work on the Real Presence which has been already alluded to, and the book was declared by Bishop Phillpotts to be "a well-timed and triumphant statement of the doctrine of the Church." The Archbishop's Court, however, pronounced against the sermons of Archdeacon Denison, giving him a period within which to make a retractation. In the meantime, a protest was drawn up against the Archbishop's judgment, asserting the Real Presence and the lawfulness of Eucharistic adoration. It was signed by Pusey, Keble, Isaac Williams, Mr. Carter of Clewer, Dr. Neale, and others. But on October 22nd Archbishop Denison was deprived of all his preferments, and at once proceeded to appeal to the Court of Arches; and, after some legal delays, the Dean of Arches reversed the decision of the Court of the Archbishop at Bath, on technical grounds, and this decision was upheld by the Privy Council. Two important works were the result of this controversy—Keble's "Eucharistical Adoration,"

EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY.

DENISON.

and Pusey's "Real Presence, considered as the Doctrine of the English Church." The latter book contained an interesting dissertation on the English Prayer-book and Articles as distinguished from the Zwinglian and Calvinistic Confessions on sacramental questions.

FORBES.

Another important Eucharistic trial took place shortly after this. Mr. A. P. Forbes, a friend of Dr. Pusey's, who had been appointed Vicar of St. Saviour's, Leeds, was elected Bishop of Brechin in Scotland. His life and work, as one of the most devoted and learned Bishops of the Anglican Church of the present century, deserve special notice, but cannot be here described.[1] In his primary charge he enlarged upon the doctrines of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the Real Presence and Eucharistic adoration. Several of the Scottish Bishops took great exception to the language he used, and a Synod was held in Edinburgh, when a document was published, signed by the six other Bishops, condemning much of the teaching of Bishop Forbes. Keble, who, as Honorary Canon of the Collegiate Church at Cumbrae, had some official connection with the Church in Scotland, published a pamphlet with Pusey's assistance, pointing out the weak points in the statements of the Scotch Bishops; but in the summer of 1859, Bishop Forbes was presented before the Synod, and his trial took place in March in the following year. The Synod pronounced judgment in a not very satisfactory form, condemning certain of Bishop Forbes's statements, and the matter ended in a

[1] Memoirs by Miss Skene (1876) and Canon Mackey (1888) supply interesting information.

somewhat mild, if not lame, manner, for with "admonition and brotherly love," the Bishop of Brechin was entreated to be "more careful in the future."[1]

THE GREEK PROFESSORSHIP.

In 1854 a new state of things had been inaugurated at Oxford as the result of the University Commission, and together with it there arose in gathering strength a liberal, or rather rationalistic movement. Pusey felt that a great conflict was at hand, such as he had anticipated when in Germany thirty years before. With great care he prepared and preached before the University two sermons, on "Faith" and the "Relations of Reason" to it; and, in notes added to the published sermons, he called attention to the inadequate teaching of Mr. Jowett, the Professor of Greek, in his "Essay on the Atonement," and his "Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles." At the same time a proposal was made that the University should increase the stipend of the Greek Professor from a mere nominal sum to £300 a year. It was very unfortunate that the question of Mr. Jowett's lack of orthodoxy should have been mixed up with this proposal, and Pusey wished to alter the scheme into a measure for augmenting two Professorships, those of Civil Law and of Greek. The Bishop of Oxford and Gladstone agreed to this, but Professor Stanley, afterwards Dean of Westminster, pressed for the temporary endowment of Jowett's professorship. Stanley's proposal was defeated, and, while the matter was being negotiated,

[1] A full and by no means one-sided review of the Eucharistic controversy in Scotland is given in "The Episcopate of Charles Wordsworth," by the Bishop of Salisbury, pp. 140, *seq.*

there appeared the volume called "Essays and Reviews," to which Jowett had contributed an essay. This added considerably to the theological difficulties of the situation, and Pusey's plan was also defeated. Several other propositions were made, only to be rejected; and, now that Pusey's compromise had failed, it was thought right to prosecute Jowett directly for his theological errors. A trial was begun in the Chancellor's Court, which ended in a decision adverse to the jurisdiction of the Court in this particular case. Pusey, who had been supported by Keble, and Drs. Ogilvie and Heurtley, declined to appeal against this decision, and, contrary to the wishes of many of his friends, decided to propose the endowment of the Greek Chair; for, after having done all that he could to make a stand in behalf of orthodoxy, he thought it better to remove all occasion of heart-burnings. But, through the influence of Archdeacon Denison and a number of persons who were in a state of genuine alarm at Jowett's influence, the proposal was rejected. Finally, a plan was adopted by which Christ Church increased the stipend to £500 a year; after it had been discovered that there was some obligation, though by no means a certain one, resting on the Dean and Chapter to do so by the tenure of certain lands. It is believed that this solution of what had been a subject of painful dispute was largely due to the tact and considerateness of Dean Liddell.

"ESSAYS AND REVIEWS."

The volume entitled "Essays and Reviews," published early in 1860, contained seven papers, quite independent of each other in origin, and differing widely in character. Some of the statements

were crude and reckless, and were pronounced by Stanley himself, at the outset, to be rash, offensive, and irritating. Among the writers were Dr. Temple, headmaster of Rugby, afterwards successively Bishop of Exeter and London, and Archbishop of Canterbury; the Rev. H. B. Wilson, one of "the Four Tutors" who had assailed Tract 90 in 1841; and Professor Jowett. Dr. Tait, then Bishop of London, himself one of "the Four Tutors," spoke of the folly of the publication of the essays, and deplored their spirit. Many men, even of the Broad Church school, were alarmed at the book and its probable effect. Perhaps the wisest course would have been to treat it with dignified silence. But the excitement throughout the Church, and the presentation of petitions, largely signed by the clergy, compelled some notice on the part of the authorities. Dr. Williams and Mr. Fendell, two of the essayists, were charged by the Bishop of Salisbury in the Court of Arches; and, on the case being given against them, an appeal was made to the Privy Council, and they were both acquitted. Two great questions seemed to be involved in this decision: "the inspiration of Holy Scripture," and "the eternity of punishment." The two Archbishops had openly dissented from the judgment, and endeavoured to reassure the minds of Church people.

ATTEMPTED UNION WITH EVANGELICALS.

Pusey looked upon the crisis as an occasion for uniting the Low Church and High Church parties in common action in defence of the Church's faith. He wrote to the *Record* to that effect, and drew a very interesting reply from Lord Shaftesbury, who said, "Your letter to the *Record*

shows, at least I think so, that you are of the same mind as myself. We have to struggle, not for Apostolical Succession or Baptismal Regeneration, but for the Atonement itself, for the sole hope of fallen man, the vicarious Sacrifice of the Cross." Pusey replied in warm and affectionate language, "I have ever loved the (to use the term) Evangelical Party, even while they blamed me, because I believed they loved our redeeming Lord with their whole hearts." Pusey was also much drawn towards his Bishop at this time, and they took counsel together as to how to meet the crisis. A declaration was drawn up for circulation among the clergy, which was signed by 11,000; but Mr. F. D. Maurice entered into a correspondence with Dr. Pusey, strongly criticizing the declaration as a kind of threat held over the younger clergy. Dr. Stanley, who had become Dean of Westminster, invited Pusey at this juncture to preach at the Abbey. He refused, though with no little reluctance, because, in his own opinion, and in that of Keble and Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury, to preach there, at that particular time, would in the eyes of the world bear the appearance of indifference to vital errors, on the part of one who had taken up so strong a position in opposing those who taught them.

The appearance of "Essays and Reviews," and the serious controversy they gave rise to, were but symptoms of a very widespread and deeply-seated movement. What has come to be called the Higher Criticism, had long been making itself felt in the minds of students, and had been publicly presented to the world in the works of Dr. Colenso, and other crude and rash speculations

of the same kind. But many educated persons among the laity, and a certain number of the clergy, were seriously disturbed, and Dr. Pusey determined to make a defence of one of those Books of the Old Testament which had been specially singled out for attack, and that was the Book of Daniel. The lectures he delivered and published on this book are remarkable for their elaborate care, varied knowledge, and thorough and trustworthy scholarship. It has been said, "These lectures on Daniel are acknowledged, not only to be replete with learning, but also to sum up, with masterly ability, the conservative position with respect to this part of the Bible." In the tone that he adopted towards the destructive school of criticism he was thought to be very severe, and he expressed his firm and sad conviction that, even those who thought it possible to unite such criticism with belief in the Divine origin of revelation, must in the end choose between the surrender of their faith or the rejection of the supposed ascertained results of the Higher Criticism. What was in his mind is best expressed in his own language: "The faith can receive no real injury except from its defenders. Against its assailants, those who wish to be safe, God protects. If the faith should be (God forbid!) destroyed in England, it will be, not by open assailants (such as the writers in the *Westminster Review*, etc.), but by those who think they defend it, while they have themselves lost it. So it was in Germany. Rationalism was the product, not of the attacks on the gospel, but of its weak defenders. Each generation, in its controversies with unbelief, conceded

LECTURES ON DANIEL.

more of the faith, until at last it was difficult to see what difference there was between assailants and defenders."[1] It is too soon to say with certainty whether this sad foreboding is to be realized, or whether the attempts that are being made to retain a full belief in the great verities of the Catholic faith, together with a surrender, more or less complete, to the claims of the Higher Criticism will prove successful and permanent.

In addition to this more elaborate work, Dr. Pusey made use of the University pulpit to deal with the serious questions involved in the controversy raised by the "Essays and Reviews." He preached on "The Value of the Old Testament as Prophetic of our Lord," "The Atonement," "Everlasting Punishment," and "Prayer." He gathered younger members of the University to his house, and discussed with them difficulties that had been raised about the Old Testament. He was invited to read a paper at the Norwich Church Congress, on "The Bible and Geology," and dealt with the subject in so conciliatory a manner as to call forth the warmest expressions of approval from scientific men. Among them was Mr. Rolleston, Professor of Physiology at Oxford, who said, "I wish all writing on the subject had been in the same spirit of caution and courage. . . . It will prevent much mischief being done to the cause of revelation, on the one side by its foes, and on the other by its friends."

SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

[1] "Lectures on Daniel," pref., p. xxv.

VI.

Pusey was also at this time occupied in discussing the late decision of the Privy Council, and published a pamphlet on the "Judgment." He and Keble felt most strongly the need of a change in the constitution of the Court of Appeal. He said, "Let men band together to support no candidate for Parliament who will not pledge himself to do what in him lies to reform a Court which has, in principle, declared God's Word not to be His Word, and eternity not to be eternity." The *Times* attacked Pusey's position, and Keble defended it with calm courage. The assailants were not only from the side of the Rationalists, but were joined by Dr. Manning, who published a pamphlet, maintaining that the Church of England was not in any sense a Church, and was the occasion of unbelief to many souls.

Dr. Pusey determined to answer Manning, but after a time he resolved to make his reply take the form of a general vindication of the English Church, and an explanation of the reasons that compelled Anglicans to reject certain portions of the Roman system. Out of this grew his famous "Eirenicon," which developed into a considerable work, published in three parts. The first was a letter addressed to "The Author of the *Christian Year*," and began by clearing the English Church of the charges brought against her by Manning. It went on to show that the English Church taught all Catholic doctrine, and only rejected later Roman errors. It claimed for the Anglican Church a real belief in, and a share in, organic

THE "EIRENICON."

Catholic unity. It specially pointed out exaggerations of Roman theologians with regard to the Blessed Virgin, and the devotions offered to her. The second and third parts were letters to Dr. Newman, and enlarged still further on questions connected with the Blessed Virgin, especially with regard to the Immaculate Conception. Dr. Pusey's thorough and exhaustive treatment of any subject he took up is very apparent in this work. It contains an analysis of Cardinal de Turrecremata's "Treatise on the Conception of the Blessed Virgin," prepared for use at the Council of Bâle, as well as an elaborate collection of authorities, ranging from St. Augustine down to St. Thomas Aquinas, in which it was shown that the dogma had no claim to primitive and Catholic authority. The third part was principally concerned with discussing how far "healthful reunion" was possible, and called attention to serious errors and shortcomings on the part of many of the Popes condemned by Church Councils, which amounted to a proof that Papal infallibility was not part of the primitive or Catholic tradition. The "Eirenicon" is a singular instance of Dr. Pusey's loyalty to the Anglican Church, and his loving anxiety to take some steps to bring about the reunion of Christendom. He knew that it must cause pain to those of his friends, like Newman, who were within the Roman fold. He knew, as he himself said, at the close of the third part, that "The Evangelicals, with whom my defence of the common faith had gained me popularity for the time, would be alienated." But yet he fearlessly wrote and published this work and

committed it to God, "Who," as he said, "had taught me to turn into an Eirenicon, what, at the earnest desire of others, I had begun as a Defence." He and thousands of others were longing for reunion, and praying that the "'middle wall of partition,' would be effectually shattered." But "whenever reunion is thought of," he said, "certain subjects start up like spectres, and motion us away." Still he hoped for better things. "Evil days and trial-times seem to be coming upon the earth. Faith deepens, but unbelief too becomes more thorough. Yet what might not God do to check it, if those who own one Lord and one faith were again at one, and united Christendom should go forth bound in one by love—the full flow of God's Holy Spirit, unhemmed by any of those breaks, or jars, or wranglings to win all to His Love Whom we all desire to love, to serve, to obey. To have removed one stumbling-block would be worth the labour of a life." [1]

EFFORTS FOR REUNION.

As is well-known, Newman replied to the "Eirenicon," and defended authorized devotions to the Blessed Virgin, while deprecating exaggerated and foreign forms of it. Other writers criticized it, but there is no doubt that it served an admirable purpose in strengthening Anglicans in their confidence in the Catholicity of the English Church, as well as in instructing Continental Catholics as to the real position and teaching of that Church. Dr. Pusey was not content with only writing an "Eirenicon," he entered into direct communications with French ecclesiastics. Bishop

[1] "Eirenicon," part iii., p. 342.

Forbes of Brechin had recently published his well-known work on the Thirty-nine Articles, and this was thought by Dr. Pusey likely to smooth the way to a better understanding; and, when the Pope summoned the Vatican Council, Pusey was anxious to lay the true position of the Anglican Church before the assembly of Bishops. This is not the place to relate the story of that Council. But it is probable that, the same influence which brought about the definition of Papal Infallibility, prevented the works and letters that Pusey sent to some leading Prelates from being received at Rome. The final issue of Pusey's efforts was apparent failure. But in spite of what appeared a great disappointment, it has been well said, "Pusey knew that he was on the winning side, and continued to pray as he had prayed for thirty years, in the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity:—'Vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to grant to Thy faithful people, unity, peace, and true concord, both visible and invisible, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.'"[1]

DEATH OF KEBLE.

Dr. Pusey had some years before this Council suffered the sad loss of his friend, Mr. Keble. Dr. Liddon has told us how he found him, on the day of the funeral, "quite overcome, unable to speak." It was a severance of affectionate ties and common work for the glory of God, and when the news of Keble's death came to him, he could only write "that it is past words." He took a keen interest in the foundation of Keble College, and made a great speech when the first stone was laid. He spoke of it "as a college which would react upon the rest of the University." He said

[1] "Life," vol. iv., p. 194.

that they were acting like the man who bought the ground, on which the camp of Hannibal was pitched, at its full price. Oxford was beleaguered, but they were laying "a stone founded on the Rock, which is Christ." Pusey wished that Liddon should be the first Warden, and his refusal was a great disappointment, though he rejoiced greatly at the appointment of Dr. Talbot, and continued to take a deep interest in the progress of the college.

KEBLE COLLEGE.

In the years that followed, controversy arose on what was popularly called "Ritualism." The revival of ceremonial had not occupied much place in the work of the early Tractarians. Dr. Pusey, as he himself often said, "never was a Ritualist." He had indeed, many years before, been called upon to explain to Bishop Bagot, in answer to some accusations, the reasons for the introduction of a credence table and an eagle lectern, and a stole with crosses, and turning to the East, at Littlemore and St. Mary's. He had also expressed in a letter to the Rev. J. F. Russell, as far back as 1839, when attempts were being made to restore the ancient ornaments of the Church and her ministers, his preference for beginning with the decorations of the Church and the altar, before the rich vestments of the Priest were restored. It was entirely in keeping with his own self-restraint to say, "As far as externals will contribute to greater reverence, it was far better, and far more influential to begin with that which is farthest removed from self. . . . We are in danger, also, lest these ornaments should evaporate into mere sentiment." Of the use of the cross in churches, he said

RITUALISM.

"it must come as the expression of that which is within, else it will be a matter of taste, and a witness against us."

In 1866, when there was much clamour raised against "Ritualism," Dr. Pusey spoke at a meeting of the English Church Union, explaining the attitude taken up by the early Tractarians on the question. He said, "To have introduced Ritual before the doctrines had widely taken possession of the hearts of the people, would only have been to place an obstruction in their way. . . . Now, in these days, many of the difficulties which we had in the first instance to contend with have been removed. In the first place, I suppose that this is from its very centre a lay movement. The clergy have taught it to the people, and the people have asked it of the clergy. We taught it them, they felt it to be true, and they said, set it before our eyes." When, in 1871, the Rev. J. Purchas, of Brighton, was prosecuted, and what is called the "Eastward position" was pronounced to be illegal; Dr. Pusey, though charitably refraining from the practice at Christ Church on account of the feelings of some of his brother Canons, felt it his duty to give his countenance to the clergy who adopted it, and from 1874 took that position on all occasions. He never could commit himself to Ultra-ritualism as he called it, and endeavoured to restrain some of those who in his mind were causing needless irritation, by injudicious actions and language. But he strongly resented the judgments of the Privy Council, both in the Purchas and Ridsdale cases; and, though at one time on the point of leaving the E.C.U. for what

seemed to him sufficient reasons, he was persuaded by Mr. C. L. Wood, now Lord Halifax, to remain a member, and was regarded by the President for the rest of his life as a kind of censor of all the proceedings of the Union.

Once more controversy on the Holy Eucharist called forth Dr. Pusey's vigorous defence. The Rev. W. J. Bennett, Vicar of Frome, had published a pamphlet in which he used some exaggerated and inaccurate language about the Eucharist, and the Church Association commenced a prosecution. Pusey made every effort to be included in the suit, but to no purpose. At Dr. Pusey's advice Mr. Bennett corrected his first statements, and the result was, that in the Arches Court it was decided that the Church of England allowed her clergy to teach "the Objective, Real, Actual, and Spiritual Presence of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist," as well as the doctrines of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and Eucharistic Worship. The final Court of Appeal confirmed the decision of Dr. Phillimore, greatly to the delight of Pusey. This decision of a Court never favourable to the Catholic interpretation of the Anglican formularies, marks a period in the controversial history of the Church of England. After all the long agony of continued attacks on those in the Church of England who taught the Real Presence, from the day when Pusey preached his celebrated sermon in 1843, down to 1872, when the final judgment in the Bennett case was delivered, the victory rested with Pusey and all others who, with him, accept in their plain meaning the words of our Lord at the

THE BENNETT CASE.

Institution of the Eucharist, and the interpretation given to them in the Catechism of the Church, which Pusey learnt from his mother's lips.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

Among the controversies of his later days was that connected with the proposal to remove the Athanasian Creed from its place in the public Service of the Church, or to alter and mutilate it. It required a most vigorous effort, on the part of Catholic members of the Church of England, to withstand these disastrous proposals. Pusey sent a remarkable petition to Convocation, and did his best to gain Bishop Wilberforce, then of Winchester, to take his view of the case. But it was not until Pusey and Liddon had distinctly announced that they would resign all their positions in the Church of England, that Archbishop Tait, who with Dean Stanley was an active promoter of the dangerous scheme, found it impossible to persuade Convocation to go with him.

DEATHS OF BISHOP WILBERFORCE, DEAN HOOK, AND BISHOP FORBES.

On July 19, 1873, Bishop Wilberforce met with a sudden death by a fall from his horse. All recollection of old disputes passed out of Pusey's mind, and he said, "It is indeed a grievous loss; he was always full of kindness and a great check to persecutors." A little later Dean Hook lay dying, and sent a loving message, through Liddon, to "that Saint whom England persecuted, our dearly beloved Pusey," and received an equally affectionate reply, recalling the long life of friendship begun in Hook's "rooms in Peckwater, fifty-four years ago." In 1875 another dear friend was removed, Bishop Forbes of Brechin, whom Pusey had

known since 1846, when the Bishop was curate of St. Thomas's, Oxford. Of his death he said, "It is a great gap to me, he was so tender and loving."

CONFESSION.

Two controversies, on the subject of Confession, called out Pusey's defence of the right of English Church people to make use of private confession to a Priest. In 1873 a petition, signed by 483 clergymen, presented to Convocation, excited what Pusey called "a tremendous storm." Pusey, while by no means wishing to be identified with all that was contained in the above petition, generously came to the front to assert the lawful liberty of English Catholics in the matter. The controversy was revived again at the Lambeth Conference of 1878, when Archbishop Tait did his best to carry a resolution condemning "habitual" confession, and Pusey corresponded with the Archbishop, protesting against any condemnation of what he and others had been teaching for forty years. The resolution, as it was finally carried, was somewhat ambiguous and self-contradictory, and the result was little more than a rather vaguely worded disapproval of exaggerations in practice, supposed to be urged by some of the advanced clergy.

Of course it is quite unnecessary to state, that all that Dr. Pusey wrote and said about confession, was not merely derived from books or only based on theory. No one, perhaps, in our day had such opportunities for testing the value of private confession, and the blessings that resulted from it, when rightly used, as he had. No one could have been a more tender, more fatherly Priest, or a wiser guide of souls. No one could

ever accuse him of using undue pressure to bring men and women to private confession. His advice to the clergy always was, not so much to be ever alluding to private confession in their public teaching, as to be faithful in endeavouring to bring people to true repentance; contrite hearts would of themselves be led on by God to unburden themselves; and private confession would be used by those for whom its use was right and profitable. Many a Priest, called to minister to sin-laden souls, would look to him for counsel and advice in dealing with difficult cases of conscience, and found him never wanting in giving prompt attention to such questions, at the cost of adding to an already overwhelming correspondence. How much of the ignorant clamour against confession, that finds vent on platforms or in the columns of newspapers, raised most often by persons who have had no sort of experience of confession as practised in the Anglican Church, would be silenced, if it were possible (as, of course, it is not) to record something of this great servant of God's loving, faithful ministrations to the sad and sorrowful souls of the countless penitents who sought his aid.

VII.

ILL-HEALTH.

For some years Pusey's health had been seriously breaking up. He had spent his strength in the services of the Church, and toiled night and day as a teacher of her doctrine and a guide of souls. He withdrew from some of his public offices, the Hebdomadal Council and the Governing Body of

Keble College. He spent much of his time at Ascot, where there was a branch of the Devonport Sisterhood, established by Miss Sellon, whose death in 1876 was one of the many sorrows of his later years. In 1878 he prepared two sermons, to be preached before the University, on what he called "un-science," meaning that dogmatism of some scientific men which attacked Revealed Truth in what appeared to him a most unscientific manner. He was not well enough to preach them, and Liddon delivered the first in the pulpit of St. Mary's in his stead. It has been well said, "It was a strange, perhaps a unique scene, a sermon written by one of the greatest preachers of one generation, equalling, at least in range, intellectual force and moral power, any sermon that he had ever prepared, was being read for him by the greatest preacher of the next."[1]

LAST SERMONS.

The second sermon, on the following Sunday, was read by the Rev. F. Paget, now Dean of Christ Church. While the first was a kind of eirenicon between genuine Science and genuine Theology, the second was a defence of the Old Testament prophecies of our Lord's Person and work. In January, 1880, another heavy bereavement fell upon him, in the loss of his son Philip. He had for many years been sadly afflicted, crippled, and deaf, but full of indomitable courage and religious earnestness. In spite of his physical weakness, he had won second-class honours in mathematics, both in Moderations and in the Final Schools. His pathetic figure was well known in

DEATH OF PHILIP PUSEY.

[1] "Life," vol. iv., p. 334.

Oxford, but few were aware of his industry and ability in theological study. He edited the works of St. Cyril, and in his untiring investigation of manuscripts visited numberless libraries in Europe and Egypt. He was well known to the monks of Mount Athos, who inquired of their English visitors, "How is Philippos?" He was called away suddenly, and his death was deeply felt, both for his father's sake as well as for his own.

CONTROVERSY WITH DR. FARRAR.

The last important controversy in which Pusey was engaged was that with Dr. Farrar, Canon of Westminster, and now Dean of Canterbury. The latter had preached a course of sermons published under the title of "Eternal Hope." The author was understood to repudiate every form of belief in everlasting punishment. He himself denied that he held the ordinary doctrine of Universalism; but, as he had included Dr. Pusey among those whose views on the subject of hell were to him too dreadful to be believed, the latter felt called upon to answer a book which seemed dangerous and heretical. The book he published, entitled "What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?" was, in the first place, a repudiation of exaggerated popular opinions as to the eternal punishment of the majority of mankind, and as to a necessary belief in a material fire as the instrument of that punishment. But the book had also its positive side, and dwelt on the necessary connection between man's free will and God's judgment upon those who, in the exercise of their free will, reject His love. He maintained the received belief as to the meaning of the word *αἰώνιος*, and dwelt upon the need of a right faith in the Intermediate State and

some purifying process after death, as well as the value of prayers for the faithful departed. The book contained a valuable *catena* of authorities, drawn from the writings of the Fathers of East and West, compiled with his usual characteristic thoroughness. An interesting correspondence followed between Pusey and Farrar, and the result was, on the whole, to clear men's minds of exaggerations on either side. Pusey's last words in the correspondence are worth remembering—"Forgive me, but I think that in your eagerness to overthrow the narrow (I suppose Calvinistic) opinions in which you were educated, you took up the arguments which came to hand without weighing them. . . . I think, too, you have fixed your eyes exclusively on the one side of the question, the exceptions which you have thought could be found, and did not take time to think on Whose word the awful doctrine as believed by the incomparably larger body of Christians rested."[1]

INCREASING RESPECT SHOWN TO HIM.

There were not wanting indications in various quarters that the Church as a whole, and to some extent the world also, had begun to estimate at its true value, Pusey's saintly character as well as his great abilities, profound knowledge, and unwearied theological industry. His letters to *The Times* on important controversies were treated with respect and given an important place. He was received with great consideration and even enthusiasm, when on rare occasions he appeared in public, not only on the platform at meetings of the E.C.U., but at the larger gatherings of the Church Congress. In his own

[1] "Life," vol. iv., p. 355.

University and Cathedral he was an object of the deepest veneration, and young undergraduates passed him in the street with something of awe and reverence. His colleagues at Christ Church, however much some of them might decline to accept his teaching on very many important questions, were united in their affectionate regard towards one whose character and attainments did so much honour to the House. An interesting occasion for an expression of their feelings occurred in 1878, when the Dean presented to him a paper signed by all resident members of the governing body of Christ Church, requesting that he would permit his portrait to be painted and placed in the Great Hall. Dr. Liddell, whose character for justice as Head Master of Westminster School and Dean of Christ Church was well known and deservedly respected, took a special pleasure in being the mouthpiece of the House on this occasion. He had never disguised his disagreement with the school of thought of which Dr. Pusey was the great head and representative, but he had always honoured the character and learning of the Tractarian leaders. But Pusey had forty years before made a solemn resolution never to have his portrait taken; it had become to him, as he said, "a matter of religion:" and so future generations will have to be content with a sketch or two, some caricatures, some fairly good busts, and a posthumous portrait not wholly adequate or successful.

LAST EFFORTS.

In the last few years of his life, though Dr. Pusey did not appear in public, he took a keen interest in all the Church questions of the time. He

supported Dean Church's memorial in favour of toleration of ritual, and wrote an important letter on the indefensible character of the judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on ritual questions. He was keenly alive to the scandals arising out of the imprisonment of Mr. Green and Mr. Enraght for disobedience to Lord Penzance's rulings. He exerted himself to inform those who had charge of the Bill for legalizing the marriage with a deceased wife's sister, on the Biblical and Ecclesiastical law forbidding such marriages, and called attention to the evil consequences that had resulted in many parts of Germany from a relaxation of that law.

He spent his last days at Ascot, full of interest in the work of the Home, and up to the end endeavouring to do something in behalf of Mr. Green, still shut up in Lancaster gaol. But on August 25th he was taken ill, and after various rallies and relapses he died on the morning of September 16th. Some of his last words seemed to indicate his anxiety to execute his office as a Priest, as he pronounced in his delirium the words of the Administration of the Holy Sacrament, or of the Absolution, which he had so often in life bestowed on penitents. Words from the *Te Deum* were faintly caught from his dying lips, and "the death-sweat was on his brow, when he was heard to sigh out a last aspiration which summed up his life—'My God.'" [1]

LAST HOURS.

DEATH.

His body was laid to rest in Christ Church, in the same grave with his wife and two eldest daughters, on St. Matthew's Day. The Dean

FUNERAL.

[1] "Life," vol. iv., p. 385.

and Canons of Christ Church, the Bishop of Oxford, Mr. Gladstone, and a large procession of clergy, were present at the funeral. His old friend Newman's hymn, "Lead, kindly Light," was sung, and his younger friend, Dr. Liddon, committed his body to the grave.

GENERAL ESTIMATE.

Of a life so full and rich in labour for the glory of God, it is impossible in this short sketch to give any lengthened estimate, or to present any adequate specimens from that long list of sermons, theological works, letters and tracts, which is to be found in the appendix to his biography. One thing, however, must always be remembered—that, through a long life, harassed by controversy and clouded by suspicion, he had never lost his love for God's poor; to whom he ministered from the early days, when, as a student at Bonn, he snatched a few hours from his laborious studies to visit sick and suffering people, to the time when in the summer of 1866 he took a lodging in the City Road, where he spent some weeks in visiting the sufferers from the cholera epidemic in Bethnal Green. He greatly delighted in the privilege of ministering to his "cousins in Spitalfields," as he called them, alluding to the weavers of that district, whose Flemish descent he shared in common with themselves. His love for the young, and especially for the young men of his University, seemed to increase year by year. He addressed the undergraduates in his later sermons at St. Mary's as "My sons," and few who heard it will ever forget that sermon of his, specially intended for them, on "The Thought of the Love of Jesus for us the Remedy for Sins of the Body," preached in Lent, 1861.

There was in truth a great tenderness about this much tried man, which showed itself very remarkably in his preaching. It sprang from a great love for God and a yearning love for souls. Space will not permit quotation of his language, but the very titles of many of his sermons are eloquent enough. He did not use the pulpit merely or chiefly for controversy, to win a cause or proclaim a dogma, but to set forth "God with us," "The Incarnation," "Christ risen, our Justification," "How to detain Jesus in the Soul;"[1] or "Faith," "Hope," and "Love," "Patience," "The Re-creation of the Penitent," "The Power and Greatness of Love," "Our being in God."[2] He could be severe and stern in laying bare the follies and luxury of modern society or religious unreality, in sermons addressed to fashionable congregations; as, for instance, on "Why did Dives lose his Soul?" preached at All Saints', Margaret Street,[3] or "Our Pharisaism," delivered at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge:[3] but more often he loved to dwell on "The Prodigal Son," "Repentance from Love of God lifelong," "Suffering the Gift and Presence of God," during Lent and at other solemn seasons.[3] One of the most beautiful of his works, "Addresses to Companions of the Love of Jesus," an intercessory society, teems with the most profound teaching on the value of the oul, and the love of God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost for individual souls. In the pulpit to strangers his appearance was not particularly striking, nor his voice musical. His language was sometimes obscure and his

SERMONS.

[1] "Parochial Sermons," vol. i. [2] Ibid., vol. ii.
[3] "Lenten Sermons," 1858–1874.

sentences long and involved. But no one ever failed to be impressed by his wonderful earnestness, by the spiritual power that made itself evident, by the reverential awe towards God and gentle patient affectionateness towards man, that characterized these beautiful sermons. It was felt that he was indeed a "Man of God," a prophet faithful in rebuke, uncompromising in the delivery of his message, a teacher of "all the counsel of God," the Catholic faith in its fulness. And yet there was no lack of tender human sympathy, charitable recognition of the weaknesses of men and women, and compassionate anxiety to apply every spiritual remedy to their needs.

TESTIMONIES: BY LIDDON,

Dr. Liddon has said of him, "Dr. Pusey's life had two marks especially set in it by Divine Providence—it was a life of controversy and a life of suffering. He often deplored the necessity which obliged him to spend so much of his time and thought in religious controversy. It was, he firmly believed, the Lord's controversy in which he was thus engaged, and he accepted a task from which much in his character would have held him back, as a duty laid on him by providential wisdom. . . . Certainly he did all that could be done to sweeten controversy by the charities and courtesies that were natural to his chastened temper. . . . And his life was largely a life of suffering; assuredly it did not lack the print of the Nails. He had his full share of home sorrows, which the affectionateness of his character sharpened to the utmost. . . . Troubles there were of another order which wounded him even more deeply. The separation which for some years followed the secession of

Dr. Newman, the desertion of friends who remained, and from whose sympathy he might well have hoped for much, the coldness or active hostility of persons in high authority, the failure of younger men to answer to his reasonable expectations or to be true to themselves, above all the lacerations of the Church, to whose well-being and growth he was devoted heart and soul—these things cut him to the quick. . . . And this intimacy with suffering was probably one chief secret of his moral power, because it endowed him so richly, as it had endowed St. Paul, with the gift of sympathy."[1]

BY LORD SALISBURY.

Lord Salisbury has borne witness to one aspect of his work. "He was above all things a Christian Apologist. His most earnest aims were not associated with the controversies, deeply interesting though they were, with which his name in public estimation was specially bound up. His mind was chiefly bent upon one thing, that in an age when Christian faith was exposed to many dangerous attacks, the first duty of her sons, and of those whose learning could give her support, was to defend it in all its integrity. It was as a defender of the Christian Church as a whole—as a defender of the faith once given to the Saints, and as a champion of the Church of eighteen centuries—that he lived and worked; not as many have thought simply as a fighter of one of the transient conflicts which from time to time divide the Church."[2]

[1] Liddon, "Clerical Life and Work," p. 369.
[2] "Life," vol. iv., p. 392.

BY DEAN CHURCH.

Dean Church, on the first Sunday of the term following his death, preached in the University pulpit, and his sermon included the following words:—"What is the judgment upon him—not on the representative of ideas, or the champion of a cause, or the worker in the field of knowledge, but on the man? I think that there is but one answer from those whose hearts thrill at the memory of all that he was to them, and from most of those—from many, I am sure—who stood against him, disapproved, resisted him. First and foremost, he was one who lived his life, as above everything, the servant of God. He takes rank with those who gave themselves and all that they had, and all that they wished for, their unsparing trouble, their ease, their honour, their powers, their interests, to what they believed to be their work for God: who spared nothing, reserved nothing, shrank from nothing, in that supreme and sacred ambition to be His true and persevering servant. The world will remember him as a famous student, the powerful leader, the wielder of great influence in critical times, the man of strongly marked and original character, who left his mark on the age. Those who knew and loved him will remember him, as long as life lasts with them, as one whose boundless charity was always looking out to console and to make allowance, as one whose dauntless courage and patient hopefulness never flagged, as one to whose tenderness and strength they owed the best and the noblest part of all that they have felt, and all that they have done. But when our confusions are still, when our loves and

enmities and misunderstandings have become dim and insignificant in the great distance of the past, then his figure will rise in history as one of that high company who really looked at life as St. Paul looked at it."[1]

THE PUSEY LIBRARY.

The tangible memorial raised in Oxford to commemorate one whose life was bound up with the University and the Church in that city for more than sixty years, is the Pusey House and Library. But such a monument is but a very inadequate recognition of all that Oxford owes to him. It was well to raise such a monument; but without it he could not be ever forgotten: for, as Dr. Liddon has said, "Not that Dr. Pusey's memory would die, if Churchmen could have resolved that nothing should be done to perpetuate it. His writings will command attention long after our generation has passed away; he lives, and will live in his Commentaries on Holy Scripture, in his doctrinal treatises, in his heart-searching sermons, in the abundant provision which God guided him to make for the spiritual life of men. Yes, he lives at this moment in the devotional life of thousands; in their prayers, in their repentance, in their efforts to love and serve God, and to correspond with His grace; he lives in them too constantly, too intimately, to be forgotten, if it were possible that others could conspire to forget him."[2]

[1] Dean Church, "Cathedral and University Sermons," pp. 267–270.

[2] Liddon, "Clerical Life and Work," p. 370.

HENRY PARRY LIDDON

I.

In the days of defeat and reproach, after the great catastrophe of Newman's secession, the Movement, though far from being dead, was almost of necessity working in quiet ways, spreading slowly and steadily among many of the clergy, and not a few of the laity. The second great disaster, consequent on the Gorham Judgment followed by the loss of Manning and other prominent leaders, might well have made less faithful and patient hearts than those of Pusey and Keble faint with despair. But, at this very time when there was so much to cause depression and doubt, there was growing up and being trained a vigorous mind and a strong personality destined to carry the Movement into the forefront and centre of English life.

EARLY LIFE.

Henry Parry Liddon, son of Captain Liddon, R.N., the friend and comrade of Captain Parry, explorer of the North-west Passage, was born in 1829. After a few years at a preparatory school, he went up to King's College School, London. Here he spent two years, finding as he himself has told us, "training for the intelligence in abundance;" though, as he has said with reference to the motto of the college many years after when

KING'S COLLEGE SCHOOL.

preaching in the chapel, "the *sapienter* was well provided for, but not so the *sancte*."[1] He was, however, careful to state, too, that in this respect since his school-days all had been changed for the better. He went up to Oxford at the age of seventeen, being nominated to a studentship at Christ Church under the old system. In his undergraduate days the earnest young man, who had received but slight help in spiritual matters at school, but who already had yearnings after a high and lofty standard for his own soul and for his future work, came under the influence of the Tractarian Movement. He had not, like some others, to pass from an Evangelical or Low Church atmosphere into the larger and loftier region of Catholic experience and teaching; but it may be well believed that the development of his belief was not very unlike that which he described in the case of his venerated friend, Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury. He was fascinated and conquered by "the earnest, holy, Christian lives of the men who represented the Oxford School; if the fruits of the Spirit were to be taken as an evidence of His guiding Presence, the Tractarians of the day had that evidence on their side. . . . The first attraction to the Oxford School was ethical and spiritual rather than doctrinal, and the Movement appealed to a desire to lead a holy life, rather than to any craving to fill up gaps which the 'reason of faith' could not but detect in an imperfect creed. The intellectual or dogmatic interest came later, when the true and lasting

CHRIST CHURCH.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

[1] The motto of King's College is "Sancte et Sapienter."

doctrinal springs of ethical beauty had been laid bare to the eye of the anxious conscience."[1] His youth and the rules of the House, which required its members to pass their final examination earlier than at other colleges, hindered him from attaining the highest honours, and he was placed in the second class in the school of *Literæ Humaniores*. Those were the days before the Honour School in Theology had been established; but Liddon showed his capacity for such studies by obtaining the Johnson Theological Scholarship in 1851. His life at college was quiet and reserved, as it had been at school. Mr. Frederic Harrison speaks of his "sweet and gentle melancholy." He took no part in the games or athletic sports, though he was far from being without interest in them. He said many years later, from the pulpit of St. Mary's, "The younger of us know the pleasure which is felt at the cheers which follow an athletic victory, or a conspicuous service rendered to the college-boat on the river, or a brilliant speech in the Union, or upon the generous congratulations which are called out by expected or unexpected success in the schools."[2] But he assigned all these things their right place in "the true life of man," and certainly never approved of that exaggerated importance too often given to games in our public schools and universities.

THE CLASS LIST.

In very early days he had shown signs of a vocation for Holy Orders, and in 1852 he was ordained on his Studentship at Christ Church, and began his work

[1] "Life of Bishop Hamilton," p. 13.

[2] "Passiontide Sermons," xvii., p. 266.

as assistant curate at Wantage, under Mr. Butler, afterwards Dean of Lincoln. Among those who received their early ministerial training in this famous "school of curates" must be mentioned the Revs. A. H. Mackonochie, Montague Noel, V. S. Coles, Canon Newbolt, Precentor Woodward. At that time, besides other centres of good Church work in the diocese of Oxford, there were in Berkshire alone two parishes (to which a third—Newbury—was added soon afterwards) where the principles of the Oxford Movement were being carried into everyday practice. At Clewer under Mr. Carter, at Wantage under Mr. Butler, at Newbury under Mr. Leslie Randall, it was found possible to influence middle-class people in country towns, and bring them to an intelligent understanding of the Church, her worship and teaching. In two of these above-named places the foundation of a Sisterhood had already been attempted. Here, in the early beginnings of that great community, which has been so greatly blessed by God, and so widely extended throughout England, and whose good works reach far beyond the limits of the United Kingdom, Liddon learned to understand and value "a Sister's work," its self-sacrificing love based upon a "consecrated life," in devotion to a Divine Person. He has beautifully described it: "She works neither for pay, nor for human approval, nor for her own inward satisfaction in the work she does. She works, indeed, side by side with other workers on earth, but her eye is upturned to Heaven. There she sees the Lord Jesus in His glory, shedding on her poor efforts His most

WANTAGE.

THE SISTERHOOD.

gracious and indulgent smile; entitled as He is of right to so much, yet deigning to bless and accept so little."[1] In all three of the above-named places, as, indeed, in an ever-increasing number since, a restored Church, daily services, frequent Eucharists, well-organized schools, and numerous opportunities for spiritual intercourse between Priest and people by classes, private confession, and pastoral visitation, made up the complete machinery of a well-ordered parish. Liddon found himself in a congenial sphere. Not only did he at once impress people by his power as a preacher, but he took great delight in visiting the poor in their cottages and in the workhouse. Throughout his life he never lost that keen sense of the value of souls, that need for direct and close dealing with individuals which is the duty and privilege of the true shepherd who "knows his sheep" and "is known of them." He was regarded by those who knew him best as having a special "honour for each soul in its separateness," and yet, though he had great qualifications as a spiritual director, he always, with characteristic modesty, shrank from every invitation to conduct a retreat. This pastoral experience was a valuable element in the formation of his character, and developed one of those two "secrets of clerical power"—sympathy—which he himself has so well described. The other was equally apparent in him. From the moment of his ordination onwards, though he never lost the air of distinction, the beaming look of alertness, the playful manner, the keen sense of humour, and the old-world courtesy for which

PAROCHIAL WORK.

[1] "Sermons preached on Special Occasions," ix., p. 116.

he was so remarkable, yet never could he be reproached with any serious breach of that second element, so essential to the true Priest, "consistency." Much of the secret of the development of his character may be taken to be self-revealed in that essay entitled "The Priest in his Inner Life," written in 1857. Here the recitation of the daily Services, meditation, prayer, and a careful rule of life, are all enumerated by him as necessary parts of the priestly life.[1] Even then it is probable that he realized and accepted for himself the great advantages of a celibate life for that unfettered liberty in ministerial work to which he alluded in after years. While speaking respectfully and even sympathetically of the marriage of the clergy, and recognizing "the grave disaster" that may follow upon any attempt to impose a rule of celibacy on "thousands of men," he yet expressed a "wish that the freedom of choice in this matter were more often exercised than it is in favour of a single life," and proceeded to enumerate at length the advantages of greater freedom of action and independence, less risk from harassing family cares and expenses.[2]

THE PRIESTLY LIFE.

But he was not to be left long to labour in this quiet parish in the Berkshire Downs. Bishop Wilberforce was anxiously looking for some one to undertake the important office of Vice-Principal of his new Theological College at Cuddesdon, and, on the recommendation of Mr. Butler, he was appointed in 1854. The organization of this new institution

CUDDESDON.

[1] "The Priest in His Inner Life," pp. 5, *seq.*

[2] "Sermons preached on Special Occasions," xv., p. 330.

devolved largely upon Liddon, and he threw himself with all the vigour of his character into the work. We know from his own words what, in his mind, were the true functions of a theological college—to teach theology as a science, to inculcate the body of truth respecting the "Being of beings," to prepare men to understand their fellows, to study human nature in all its fulness; but, to do all this effectively, the college must, above all things, aim at the formation of character, and that the character of a self-denying consecrated Priest.[1] If ever a college succeeded in imprinting a very distinctive character on its sons it was Cuddesdon. This was acknowledged by its friends, and formed the reproach of its foes. It may be said that, for many years, even after Liddon left it, the impress of its earlier days was felt upon successive generations of students.

That white group of buildings—chapel, hall, and library—in earlier days small, yet dignified in its simple Gothic architecture, afterwards somewhat more extended in memory of its founder, lying near the road, and catching the eye as one came up from Wheatley, or over the hill from Oxford, became very dear to many. The restful change of that quiet year, after the three or four of University life with its excitements and strain of examinations, its round of amusements and sports, its gaieties and social meetings, not always wisely enjoyed, was very welcome to scores of men as a helpful aid to a right preparation for Holy Orders. The lectures that, for the first time perhaps to most of them, opened out

[1] "The Work and Prospects of Theological Colleges," pp. 50, 57, 63, etc.

the vast fields of scriptural and theological study made men feel ashamed of knowing so little of the "Queen of Sciences." The quiet services of the chapel and the parish church, or the impressive solemnities of the Cuddesdon ordinations, laid deep down in many a man's soul the foundations of reverent worship for himself and his people. The intercourse with fellow-students and friends over from Oxford for dinner on Sunday, the recreations that saved the life from being too much cast in the mould of a narrow seminary, all form part of the pleasant memories of a Cuddesdon man. Above all, the walks and conversations with the principal, or the vice-principal, or the chaplain, in the garden or the Palace Grounds, or over Shotover, or by Wheatley, and the opening of the heart in close friendship and intimacy, and the more solemn ministrations and spiritual counsel and advice, are consecrated and hallowed experiences that are treasured up as precious gifts of God. At the joyous annual festivals old students gathered, and Bishops and other great leaders of the Church at home and abroad preached and spoke, and stirred young hearts to embrace high ideals, and consecrate their lives in self-sacrificing labour. And so it came to pass that not a few heroic spirits were led to follow the Divine guidance, and pass from Cuddesdon to the far distant mission fields of Central Africa and of India, and from thence to their final rest and reward.

The teaching and the services of the college were undoubtedly of a type that would not commend themselves to the outside world, untouched as yet by the Oxford Movement, and still

TROUBLES.

less to the declared opponents of the teaching of the Tracts. And yet, as compared with later developments elsewhere, both doctrine and worship at Cuddesdon were moderate and restrained. Liddon's views had been plainly made known to the Bishop of Oxford by his friend Butler, of Wantage, and there never was any suspicion that the vice-principal was anything but thoroughly loyal to his superiors. But busy persons, publicly and privately, in letters and in articles in reviews, could not leave the college alone. The result was, that, feeling his position untenable on account of the attacks that were made upon the college, after five years of laborious and loving work, Liddon resigned. Bishop Wilberforce yielded to external pressure, and lost his services as vice-principal, but retained till death, and after death, his loyal and ungrudging admiration. No one ever spoke more affectionately of Bishop Wilberforce, no one defended his sincerity and the disinterestedness of his character with greater insistence than did Liddon, and on no occasion with more success than in his memorial sermon on the text, "I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some."[1]

BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

II.

Liddon now returned to Oxford, and became Vice-Principal of St. Edmund's Hall. At Christ Church he was brought into contact and close friendship with Dr. Pusey; from him he received

OXFORD.

[1] "Clerical Life and Work," serm. xii.

the warmest affection and the wisest counsel; and, above all, that introduction into the rich stores of Patristic knowledge which he himself afterwards so well-developed in his Bampton Lectures. Pusey was to him, as he had been to the earlier leaders of the Movement, ὁ μέγας. The wonderful stores of knowledge that he possessed, and the beauty of his character, were the constant theme of his admiration. What this intercourse and fellowship with Pusey meant, Liddon himself has told us in his memorial sermon of his great friend: "He did not merely now and then talk and think about God—in the language of the Bible, he 'walked with God.' No facts were so constantly present to his mind as God's encompassing closeness, His mind, His will, in their bearing on the thoughts and duties of our daily life. None of the human beings among whom he lived and worked visibly influenced him as did this gracious and awful Friend, with whom throughout the day he was constantly communicating in prayer. And thus, to visit him was, as has been often said, to move out of the world into another atmosphere, where the language of the Bible was translated into reality."[1] DR. PUSEY.

Now it was that Liddon began to take his place as a leader in the new spring of the Oxford Movement. He himself has recorded his own impressions of what that Movement was.

"If a Church is stricken with the languor of death, it must be quickened in the old way,—by contact, new and earnest contact under the guidance of the Spirit,

[1] "Clerical Life and Work," serm. xiv., p. 362.

with the sacred past. We may have heard, perhaps, of such a Church, which public opinion was already, some five and forty years, preparing for burial, while the band of Moabite spoilers was seen hovering, not indistinctly in the distance—ready to sweep down upon the prey. Then by God's good providence it was thrust into the grave of Elisha; it was confronted sharply with its own past—the past of Christendom. The real sense of Scripture, the majesty and pathos of the Apostolic Age, the great teachers later on, who ruled the thought of the undivided Church—Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, Athanasius — those who tower so high above the diminished stature of any in our impoverished and divided Christendom—these were for such a Church the bones of Elisha. Out of that glorious past—which, though it lies in its tomb, in our libraries and our museums, is, we know, imperishable—there was a power of life to stream forth into the intellect and heart and conscience of a Church which indifference, or irreverence, or misbelief, or half-belief had so seriously enfeebled. It might now learn to believe in its mission from Heaven, in its Divine origin, in its glorious destinies. It might learn real faith in the Cleansing Blood, in the power of the Spirit, in the power of the Sacraments. Our Lord might become again to it, what He was to His Apostle, a living Being, walking amidst the golden candlesticks." [1]

The Oxford Movement at this time seemed specially to demand a great orator who should proclaim the long-forgotten truths of the Catholic faith, with a persuasive

[1] "Sermons on Old Testament Subjects," xxii., p. 331.

eloquence that was the fruit of clear conviction and the outcome of a character trained in deep spirituality. The experiences of Wantage and Cuddesdon, intercourse with the versatile genius of the "remodeller of the Episcopate," were admirably followed up by his relationship to Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury, whose chaplain he became in 1859, and who appointed him Prebendary in 1864. The personal holiness of this Prelate was supplemented by a remarkable courage, in proclaiming to the world his unflinching adherence to the fulness of Sacramental truth. His celebrated Charge, which some persons at the time ascribed to "one of his chaplains," though certainly not composed by Liddon, must have met with his grateful and dutiful approval. At Salisbury he learnt fresh lessons of that true sacerdotalism which he described in a University sermon in after years, when he defended it as the heritage of the Christian layman generally, and the Christian Priest in particular, in language not unlike that of another Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Moberly. With reference to commonplace objections to the doctrine of the Christian Priesthood, he said of our Lord, "He is the Prophet of whom Moses sang: He is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords of the Apostolic vision. Yet He is not dishonoured if His teaching office is exercised, however imperfectly, by human instructors; and the objection of the Fifth Monarchy men to an earthly sovereign would hardly be repeated at the present day. Nor is He less truly alone as a Priest upon His heavenly Throne, in His work of sacrifice and intercession, because there is a Priesthood of the Gospel commissioned by

BISHOP HAMILTON.

Himself here on earth, whose business it is, as ministering the Word and Sacraments to bring His mediation home to the souls of men."[1]

Certainly his intercourse with Bishop Hamilton, of which we have so tender a record in his memoir of that Prelate, deepened his sympathy and enlarged his experience.

BAMPTON LECTURES.

He had already gained a great reputation as a preacher in London and Oxford when, in 1866, he delivered his "Bampton Lectures," which he undertook at a short notice on account of the illness of the Rev. A. W. Haddan. The subject and the manner in which he dealt with it are typical of the general character of his teaching. A clear firm grasp on "the Divine Personality of the Eternal Son," "anticipated in the Old Testament," "testified by His work in the world," "witnessed by His consciousness," "recorded by St. John," "taught by the other Apostles," "asserted by the Catholic Church." All the great consequences of this doctrine were drawn out: "the infallibility of Christ's teaching," "the virtue of His Atonement," "the grace of the Sacraments." He did not shrink from making a fearless use of the "great dilemma," almost terrible in its strength, that the claims of our Lord to be God declare Him to be indeed what He claimed to be, or else a deceiver. A strong vein of eloquent admiration and devout homage, breaking out at times into actual invocation of the Saviour, culminated in a splendid appeal to his hearers, to realize "the ethical fruitfulness of the doctrine," to imitate the Divine

[1] "University Sermons" (second series), x., p. 200.

Christ, and enter upon a life spent for the glory of God. It was felt throughout England, that these lectures, delivered with so much force and fire, had translated into splendid oratory the literature of the Tractarian Movement, which aimed first and foremost at presenting once more before men the true living Christ, the object of the Church's worship, the Head of the living Church, in union with Whom through the Sacraments men are able to become the sons of God. There was a holy vigour and sanguine enthusiasm pulsating through all the lectures, and men felt that a great and gifted champion of the Catholic faith had been given by God to His Church.

Liddon's University sermons were spread over many years, and have been published in two series. They are marked by the same homage to the same Person as were the lectures, for, as has been truly said, "he was devoted to the Crucified Redeemer, the Infallible, Impeccable, Adorable Lord Jesus."[1] It has been often stated with some truth that he took for his models certain of the great French preachers, and that his manner and style were to some extent influenced and coloured by them. A friend has said, "His mental tone was intensely practical; it was Latin, it was French, in sympathy and type: for Teutonic speculation he had a most amazing repugnance."[2] His choice of subjects reminds one sometimes of Lacordaire, and sometimes of Massillon. "God and the Soul," "Immortality," "Lessons of the Holy Manger,"—these were

UNIVERSITY SERMONS.

[1] Dr. Bright, "Memorial Sermon," Sept. 14, 1890.

[2] Scott Holland, *Contemporary Review*, Oct., 1890.

some of his earlier sermons. Among the later may be named "Faith and the Athanasian Creed," "Christ in the Storm," "Sacerdotalism," "Christ and Human Law." In the latter sermon, which may be compared with another on "Law and Human Liberty," with that unflinching courage which was one of his chief characteristics, he did not shrink from denouncing the Divorce Act, and the encroachments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in the very presence of Her Majesty's Judges of Assize. Oxford heard him again and again with admiration and growing affection. St. Mary's was thronged, when he preached, with men of all ages, including masses of undergraduates, who, impatient as a rule of sermons, were content to find standing room for upwards of an hour.

LIFE AT OXFORD.

In was not only in the University Church that this influence was exercised, but for many years he gathered large numbers of young men at St. Edmond's Hall and Christ Church on Sunday evenings for Bible Readings, which left their mark for good on many a man's reason and heart. This was continued as a labour of love during his long connection with Oxford, and persevered in when he was not seldom physically unfitted for the strain through fatigue or ill-health. Though naturally somewhat shy and reserved, he formed many friendships with younger members of the University. As had been the case at Cuddesdon, so now at Oxford, he was found in their rooms, and they in his. He took them for country walks, and bound many of the younger school of Oxford men to him in affectionate sympathy. As has been well said, "He gave himself

to them in simple and delightful familiarity; he introduced into our midst the intensity, the fibre, the moral toughness of the older Tractarians."[1] Nor was his influence confined to the University. Bishop Wilberforce utilized his great gifts year after year as one of the preachers in the never-to-be-forgotten Lenten courses of sermons at St. Giles' and St. Mary's Churches, and many Oxford residents outside the circle of the University came under the spell of his strong personality and fervent eloquence. In the "sixties" Oxford was deeply impressed by his vigorous spiritual work, and his striking personality formed one of the great features of the place.

III.

ST. PAUL'S.

The University was to retain him, in part at least, for twelve years more, as Ireland Professor of Exegesis. But henceforth his strength and gifts were mainly to be spent in the great work of proclaiming Divine truth in the very centre and heart of English life. He was appointed to a Canonry of St. Paul's in 1870—it is not too much to say, far less by the will of the Prime Minister than by the providence of God. For his appearance in the pulpit of St. Paul's was a distinct step onwards in the Oxford Movement. Now its teaching was to be proclaimed in the greatest church in England, by an orator who was a professor and a theologian of the highest calibre, with rare gifts of nature, trained with conscientious industry, and

[1] Scott Holland, *Contemporary Review*, Oct., 1890.

consecrated to the service of God. Such figures as that of Liddon in the pulpit of St. Paul's are rare. Melville in some respects may have equalled or even surpassed him. But Liddon gathered round him hearers that were not confined to one school of thought. It was a wonderful congregation that, in ever-increasing numbers, was assembled under the great dome, with uplifted faces listening, on Sunday afternoons, to great truths about God and Christ, the passing character of earthly things, the abiding nature of things eternal, man's destiny and death and judgment. There were brought together men of education, engaged in professional or commercial life; statesmen of different shades of politics; people from the country on business or pleasure; travellers from America and the Colonies; clergymen who delighted to hear the doctrines of their Church so vividly, so lucidly unfolded; great Nonconformist leaders, who heard the celebrated Anglican with respect and admiration, and caught "the contagion of his intense sympathy, a sympathy that made more manifest the uniform sobriety of his judgment, a fire that enforced his masculine reasoning."[1] His appearance was striking, his voice sweet and penetrating, his influence magnetic. And yet there was about him a holy self-restraint that, as has been well said, kept in check "the explosive forces of that sensitive physique."

THE GREAT CONGREGATIONS.

He himself realized the great sphere to which he was called. Five years before he became Canon of St. Paul's, in a great sermon, entitled "Profit and Loss," delivered in that cathedral, he spoke of the awful

[1] Dr. Clifford, quoted in the *Guardian*, Sept. 17, 1890.

question asked by our Lord, "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" "'What shall it profit?' . . . On no other spot on earth," he said, "is it asked so earnestly and so often as in this very city of London, the home and centre of the commerce of the world. With an eagerness unrivalled elsewhere, you ask the question 'What shall it profit?' in the corridors of your National Bank, or on the steps of your Royal Exchange."[1] He realized the tremendous forces of materialism concentrated in the great metropolis, the great temptations to worldliness, sensuality, and unbelief that were focussed there. The Church, and the great Cathedral of St. Paul's as its representative, formed, as he said in his great sermon on "St. Paul's and London," "a city set on a hill," a spiritual fortress from which was to go forth regenerating power to do battle against evil, and a spiritual fountain to carry healing influences all around.[2] It could have been with no light heart that he entered upon his London work. It certainly was not without earnest and careful preparation. He had made himself acquainted with modern German literature, he had not left unstudied Oriental speculations, and especially Buddhism. He kept himself well abreast of the general trend of scientific thought, though he never laid claim to any special knowledge of science. He had many sympathies in the direction of art, and appreciated the highest kind of music, the use of which, in the services of the church,

THE GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

[1] "Sermons Preached on Special Occasions," iv., pp. 80, 81.

[2] "Christmastide Sermons," xxv.

he distinctly approved of, as in the case of Bach's Passion music. Poetry was to him something more than a pleasure. His essays on Dante show that he regarded it as a vehicle of sacred thought. Painting and architecture appealed strongly to his taste and imagination. The adornment of his own cathedral he regarded as a worthy acknowledgment of the honour of God. "Do you suppose," he says, "that the devotion which expresses itself in enriching the Temples of the Crucified dies away into the walls? If you think thus, you know little of the secrets of the moral world. . . . Distinct from the moral strength which every act of sacrifice confers upon a man's own soul, is the effect of it upon the souls of others. The building or beautifying of a Christian Church is a visible proclamation of the importance of all that touches God's worship."[1]

LECTURES AT ST. JAMES' PICCADILLY.

With such a rich intellectual and spiritual equipment, he entered upon his work. Early in his London career he delivered a celebrated course of lectures at St. James's Church, Piccadilly, in Lent, 1870. They were entitled, "Some Elements of Religion," and dealt with some of the great difficulties that have shaken men's faith, and still have power to disturb men's minds. Materialism, Deism, Pantheism were passed in review, and shown to be utterly unsatisfying. The soul can only rest in a personal God, to Whom it cries for deliverance from sin in earnest prayer. In the last lecture, he set forth Jesus Christ as the Meditator between God and the soul, and the Guarantee of religious life. The teaching

[1] "Christmastide Sermons," xxv., p. 421.

of this course embodied something of what he had already delivered in his University Sermons and Bampton Lectures. But it was produced in a form likely to help the world of London; men from the clubs attended St. James's Church in large numbers, and "London Society" came there, and also to St. Paul's, with a genuine ardour enkindled by his magnetic influence, to listen to his telling and moving sermons. If they were long, men somehow scarcely knew how the time went. The Dean's verger kept a record, and has stated that the longest was an hour and twenty minutes, the shortest three-quarters of an hour. And yet there were many like Dean Stanley, who once said, "Liddon took us straight up to heaven, and kept us there an hour."

HIS SERMONS AND THEIR SUBJECTS.

Liddon was conscious of being called to deliver a great message: his sermons were emphatically the presentment of the great facts of the Creeds of Christendom. A large proportion of them had been gathered, as indeed they were preached, round the great festivals of the Christian Church. "Advent at St. Paul's," "Christmas at St. Paul's," gave him frequent opportunities of proclaiming the Person of Christ, as a Divine Redeemer, the Incarnate Son, the Hope of lost mankind, and yet the Awful Judge and Glorious King. His "Passiontide" and "Easter Sermons," offered him an inexhaustible theme for winning men by "the attraction of Jesus Crucified," and by insisting upon the great fact of the Resurrection as the keystone of Christianity. No one could say that his Gospel was one-sided; no one could deny the earnest evangelical

THE INCARNATE SON OF GOD.

teaching of such sermons as those on "The Accepted Offering" and "The Cleansing Blood." But his warmest and most moving appeals never failed to urge his hearers to pass from an awakened emotion to a true surrender of the will and the affections. He knew too well the danger of trusting to mere religious emotion: "The transition is easy," he said, "only too easy, from ardent religious emotion, to very serious transgressions of the Divine Law. The fact is, that the raw material of the two opposite impulses is, sometimes the same; the passion which, when sanctified by grace, pours itself out in adoration of the Eternal Beauty, may easily, in its natural and selfish form, become an instrument of man's deepest degradation. Our composite nature, half angel, half brute, lives on the frontier of two worlds, and the impulse which may raise it to the Heaven of Heavens is but a transformed and spiritualized form of the impulse that may bury it in all that is lowest and foulest on earth."[1]

But, nevertheless, his appeals to the emotions were very thrilling, not to say terrible. His Advent sermon, entitled "The First Five Minutes after Death," and another on "The End," in the latter of which he introduced, with very solemn effect, the meaning and purpose of the passing bell, made serious impressions that would not easily wear out.

THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The Person and work of the Head of the Church were to him indissolubly linked with the work of the Church herself: devotion to Christ carried with it, in his mind, "devotion

[1] "Passiontide Sermons," xiii., pp. 206, 207.

to the Church of Christ." He was a zealous pleader in behalf of the mission work of the Church, at home and abroad. He was much attracted by the self-sacrificing labours of Charles Lowder, in what was originally called St. George's Mission, East London, and, afterwards, St. Peter's, London Docks. The Bishop of London's Fund and the S.P.G. owed much to his eloquent appeals. Christian education formed the theme of one of his ablest sermons preached at St. James's, Piccadilly, in 1869, and the following passage from that sermon deserves to be remembered: "The future of education in this country is a question infinitely more important than any one other of the anxious questions which are under discussion at the present time. Nothing, as I believe, would cut out by the roots the Christian faith of the English people so effectually as a system of compulsory secular education; the influence of parents and pastors would be no match whatever for the secular educator, for reasons which have been hinted at. And two powerful currents are running in this fatal direction. There are those who ask for a really national system of education, with a view to making it secular. There are others who consent, more or less unwillingly, to the prospect of a secular system, in their passionate desire for a national one. Nothing that could fall from a Christian pulpit could have weight with the first of these classes; but of Christians who lend name or influence to the latter demand, I would ask as earnestly as I can, Which is really most for the good and happiness of man—a

MISSIONS.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.

uniform system of instruction in such knowledge as is only serviceable for this world, or a less uniform effort to base the thought and life of the coming generation on the One Foundation, Jesus Christ our Lord. It seems to me that Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters must agree with members of the English Church, so far as to admit that our deepest differences are insignificant in the presence of a dreary materialism which utterly ignores the other world: and that, until we can once more worship around the same altar, no union can be more certainly blessed by God, or beneficial, in the highest sense to man, than a union among all who name the precious Name of our Redeemer to resist to the very utmost all attempts at imposing a system of compulsory secular education on the people of this country." [1]

Undenominationalism was a thing to arouse his indignation. It was utterly abhorrent to his soul. Convictions clear and certain on the facts of the Catholic faith, the authority of the Church as the Divinely appointed teacher of the world, made it impossible for him to contemplate for one moment any compromise of truth or mutilation of the Church's message. This, to him, was part of the false liberalism that had stirred the souls of the first Tractarians to reassert long-forgotten truths. Conscience clauses and other attempts to meet supposed popular demands in that direction were to him departures from the rightful position of the Church as the Divinely-appointed organ of the Holy Spirit's teaching.

[1] "Sermons Preached on Special Occasions," x. 241.

He was keenly alive to the blessings of higher education, both for men and women. But "the new woman" of the platform and the public meeting, or of the works of fiction of modern days, was not an agreeable figure in his eyes. "We are told," he once said, "that the condition of woman in Christendom is one of undue subjection; and efforts are being made to place her, in a new sense, on an equality with man, by giving her a man's education, a man's taste, a man's ambitions, a man's occupations, a man's character. The difference between these modern efforts to improve the condition of women, and that of our Divine Redeemer when He entered this world as a Son of a Virgin-Mother, is that He respected the characteristic virtues and graces of the sex, while persons in our day imperil or sacrifice them. It is easier to produce an occasional Catherine de Medici of France, or a Catherine II. of Russia, than a St. Agnes or a St. Monica, or a Eugenie de Guerin, or a Hannah More. It is easier to unsex woman, by making her man's rival, in the struggle of life, and a pallid caricature of masculine self-assertion, than to develop those qualities of purity, modesty, self-devotion, in which her highest power and excellence consist. The new friends of woman are not her best friends; they are tempting her to engage in a rivalry with man on his own ground, in which she must ultimately be worsted. Mary, the meekest and lowliest of maids, is also the very first of women; nay, in her office, she is the very first of human beings who are only human: and it is her sweetness, her grace, her modesty, which so admirably adorn her rank. As St.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

Paul says, in a passage which has been misunderstood, woman is saved by the 'Child-bearing;' that is to say, by the Birth of the Divine Child of His Virgin-Mother. Depend upon it, my brethren, the best guarantee of woman's liberty and influence is to be found in the fact that the Eternal Son deigned to be born of a woman." [1]

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.

His sermons always exhibited care and method in the arrangement of their subject-matter. There was usually a prelude or introduction, and the main subject was arranged under several heads, generally three. The peroration was always vigorous and practical, and no one could leave St. Mary's, Oxford, or St. Paul's, London, when he preached, without carrying away something very definite. He constantly made use of passing events to illustrate spiritual truths or enforce their application. Great wars, such as those between the Northern and Southern States of America, France and Austria, France and Germany, or Russia and Turkey, gave him opportunities for striking illustrations. The death of a great man frequently gave point to a sermon preached at the close of the year; and, on one occasion, on the Sunday after Christmas of 1873, quite a long list of eminent persons was included in his sermon on "The Perishing and the Imperishable,"—among them, Napoleon III., John Stuart Mill, Lord Westbury, Bishop Wilberforce, and Sir Edwin Landseer. And on another Sunday, at the end of the year, in 1888, a still longer list occurred near the close of his sermon on "Providence and Life,"—among them, the Emperors William and Frederick,

[1] "Christmastide Sermons," v., p. 84. Cf. "Sermons on the Old Testament Subjects," pp. 103–5.

General Sheridan, Count Melikoff, Marshal Bazaine, Dean Burgon, Matthew Arnold, Laurence Oliphant, and the Earl of Devon. Liddon's sermons were almost always written. He felt the great importance, in such a place as St. Paul's, of being as free as possible to give sufficient care to their delivery and to the management of his voice, without the anxiety of having to give form to his thoughts at the moment. Yet he could at times preach an extempore sermon with admirable clearness and beauty of language, and, even in his written sermons, he not infrequently added passages which, as he said, "were given him at the time." He took the greatest care when passing his sermons through the press for publication, and his alterations were always considerable, sometimes even necessitating the resetting up of the type. Mention has already been made of the power and sweetness of his utterance; but he could, when the occasion demanded, speak in stern and scathing phrases. One characteristic was a certain incisive and almost imperious certitude. It was once said of another teacher of his time, that he introduced a statement with the preface, "I venture to suggest," while Liddon used as a prelude the words, "Depend upon it, my brethren," and a careful examination of his sermons leads to the discovery that this phrase was very frequently on his lips.

STYLE AND DELIVERY.

Great social questions appealed to his chivalrous love for the people. The monotony of dreariness and squalor in the poorer quarters of our great towns; the great social inequalities noticeable in London and elsewhere; the exhaustion of life by excessive labour; the degradation of men, women, and

SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

children, through the loss of self-respect under the miserable conditions of their life, touched him keenly. He longed for the spread of useful knowledge, practical kindness, and beneficent laws. "These," he said, "are not the gospel, but they are, and may be, its handmaids." He welcomed all true philanthropy, and permitted his leisure frequently to be invaded by ardent philanthropists, sometimes even when their methods and principles did not greatly commend themselves to his judgment. But, for him, mere philanthropy and social experiments were inadequate to remedy the sufferings of his poverty-stricken brethren. He longed, indeed, for a sufficient number of regular holidays secured by law, as in bygone ages the Church secured them by her festivals for the working poor; for the reasonable restriction of the hours of daily labour; for better homes and better education for the toiling masses: but all these, he maintained, would fail to secure the desired results unless the gospel were preached in all its fulness to the poor.[1] For, as he loved to remind people, our Lord Himself passed among men as the carpenter's Son, His first disciples were poor, "so it was with His earliest Church. The Church of the Apostles was a Church of the poor; of silver and gold it had none. One of the first incidents in its history was an economical experiment for the relief of poverty. Of St. Paul's time and thought a large portion was devoted to organizing collections among the Greek Churches for the poor Christians in Palestine. In St. James's short epistle nothing is more remarkable than the apostolic energy with which he upholds the

[1] "University Sermons," second series, xv., p. 291.

rights, the dignity, of the poor against the insolence of their wealthy neighbours. Here and there, no doubt, there were converts who brought learning, station, and wealth, within the folds of the Church. But, upon the whole, it was at once the reproach and the glory of apostolic Christendom, that it first won its victories, and then lavished its blessings, chiefly among the poor."[1]

POLITICS.

So earnest a lover of his fellow-men could not fail to take a keen interest in everything that concerned the welfare of the nation. Politics, in the narrow sense of the word, had no charm for him. But he was keenly alive to everything that contributed to the real progress of his country. He fully realized how greatly God had blessed England in the past, and he yearned for a continuance and an extension of our national greatness. But what was in his mind was not the greatness of material wealth and commerce, or successful extension of the boundaries of our Empire, but the recognition of the obligations that power and wealth imply, and the exercise of regenerating influence among the nations of the earth. This was the not infrequent expression of his feelings as a patriot. "Patriotism is not a decaying virtue, because the country, like the family, is a creation of God's providence. It is not by chance that such and such races are fused together, occupying the same territory, governed by the same dynasty, the same laws, the same historical traditions; and as it is a sure sign of moral mischief when family affections and the sense of family duties are impaired, so it bodes no good when men think little of their

[1] "University Sermons," second series, xv., p. 184.

country, and are unwilling to make sacrifices for her. May God save us English from this, which certainly was not among the errors of our forefathers. They may have been prejudiced, because they knew little of any countries but their own. But if we have learnt to do justice to others, let us not forget what is due to our own land and race. We have no reason to despise other nations; we have, in truth, much to learn from them: but the first homage of our hearts is due to the great country which gave us birth." Or again, "Brethren, Jesus Christ has been with us Englishmen as a nation for at least some sixteen or seventeen hundred years. As a nation, do we know Him? Are our laws—our marriage laws, our poor-laws, for instance—all of them, in clear agreement with His law of high and pure morality? Are our habits, our great currents of opinion, our national enthusiasms and aversions, such as become His disciples? Is He our King, not merely recognized in our temples, but honoured in our streets, in our organs of national opinion and feeling, in our great representative assemblies, in our halls of science, as well as in our sanctuaries?"[2]

He was a Liberal, not in the sense of that latitudinarian spirit against which Newman and the early Tractarians contended with all their might, but a Liberal in desiring freedom for the Church, to live and do her work unfettered by the spirit of the world, a Liberal in his desire to see England setting her face against all forms of tyranny and espousing the cause

[1] "Some Words of Christ," xvi. p 246.
[2] Ibid., xxi., p. 318.

of the oppressed. He felt keenly the disgrace that seemed to him to rest upon England and the other Christian powers when Turkey, in 1876, cruelly slaughtered the Bulgarians, as she did the Armenians twenty years later. He had seen with his own eyes tokens of the savage massacres and outrage perpetrated upon a defenceless people by a barbarous soldiery. He passionately threw himself into the controversy, and lent his voice and pen to all those earnest people in England who were protesting against the repetition of the great mistake of the Crimea War, when Christian powers united in maintaining—for, what appeared to many, selfish political reasons—the corrupt and debasing Government of the Porte. It was a cruel disappointment to Liddon that a change of Government did not bring with it any strong policy in aid of the unhappy Bulgarians. In all questions of politics that more particularly affected the Church, the Divine origin rather than the political privileges of the Church of England held a foremost place in his teaching. He spoke of the Church as founded by our Lord, "a new Society which should sanction and satisfy, in ample measure, those instincts of union, brotherhood, improvement, order, of which earlier forms of association among men were the outcome and assertion. This Society, in virtue of its origin, its objects, and its compass, He named the Kingdom of Heaven. As described by Himself and His Apostles, it was to have no political or social limits; it was to embrace all sorts and conditions of men and women; it was to transcend the barriers of sense and time, and associate those who still live

here below with their fellow-citizens in the invisible world." [1]

DISESTABLISHMENT.

He did not approve of disestablishment or of the secularization of the Church's revenues either in Ireland or in England. For he saw the great advantage that resulted from the clergy not being too dependent upon the few wealthy laymen of their congregation. And yet he was fully alive to the necessity of enlisting the support and sympathy of the people in the maintenance of the services of the Church. "Popular agitators," he said, "may mean mischief; but we should do ill to fear the people whose best interests are our own. The Church of this country has everything to gain by throwing herself on the classes to which the gospel was preached at first; for the Church is the real mistress of that social science which either makes want or suffering more than endurable, or which relieves and assuages it. An ecclesiastical absolutism may rule abroad; a sour fanaticism may endeavour to proscribe faith and reverence nearer home; but the eccentricities of human error pass and are forgotten while Christianity remains." [2]

His knowledge of the admirable work that was being carried on in the poorest districts of London and other great towns, made him sanguine as to the ultimate relations of the labouring people of England to the Church. The self-denying ministrations of Father Lowder, Mr. Mackonochie, and the brothers Pollock of St. Alban's, Birmingham, of devoted clergymen at Liverpool

[1] "Sermons Preached on Special Occasions," xv., p. 326.
[2] "University Sermons" (Second Series), ix., 181.

and Leeds, had met with a grateful response from the toiling workpeople in the factories and workshops. He felt that the Church had only to extend her work in these directions, and there would be no fear of serious danger to her position from the public agitation of the Liberation Society.

ERASTIANISM.

Liddon dreaded the subtle advance of a dangerous Erastianism far more than assaults from declared foes. Under the influence of those periodical panics which seem to come over the English people every quarter of a century, a movement was made by a leading nobleman of the Evangelical school, and supported by the Primate, "to put down Ritualism" by Act of Parliament. Lord Beaconsfield attempted to cover the Catholic school with ridicule and suspicion when he uttered his famous phrase concerning "the Mass in masquerade." The result was the Public Worship Regulation Act, resisted by Mr. Gladstone, and recognized now by friends and foes as an unwise and abortive measure. How Liddon regarded the situation may be gathered from words in his celebrated sermon at the consecration of the Bishop of Lincoln. It must be understood that he by no means approved of all the developments of so-called "Ritualism," and an attitude of rebellion against the Episcopate was utterly contrary to the respect for Church authority which to him was a mark of the true Catholic. But he rose up in arms against the invasion of the Church's rights, whether by an Erastian Act of Parliament or a Privy Council acting, as was said, "on mere motives of policy." "We may well," he said, "indeed be grateful to the law for the

position which it secures to the clergy by making every benefice a freehold. Yet a freehold may be converted into a fortified castle from within whose walls a rebellious son sets at nought the counsels of a spiritual father. But that which of late years has most frequently veiled from the eyes of the clergy the kindly face and hand of a father in Christ, is the unhappy fact that under the form of interpreting documents which have a legal aspect, the most sacred questions of doctrine and morals are not decided in the last resort by the commissioned guardians of the faith, but by accomplished lawyers who may, or may not, be Christians. This fatal weakness in our Church polity was aggravated by the provisions of the Public Worship Regulation Act. . . . Only those who wish ill to the English Church can desire to perpetuate a state of things which is not necessary to the union of Church and State, or to the maintenance of the Queen's supremacy, and which, among the many mischiefs which it entails, does more than anything else to impair, in the eyes of faithful clergy, the fatherly character of the Episcopate." [1]

IV.

ROMANISM.

Liddon from time to time was compelled to deal with the Roman controversy. A well-known Roman Catholic ecclesiastic who had become prominent in London in connection with the secession of several aristocratic persons, had in the

[1] "Clerical Life and Work," xi., p. 304.

course of the year 1875 thought fit to criticize the language of certain devotional manuals in use among advanced Anglicans. Liddon, with much generosity and skill, defended the Anglican position—though he was careful to dissociate himself from any approval of language incompatible with the teaching of the Anglican Church on such tenets as Transubstantiation and the direct Invocation of Saints—on the doctrines of the Real Presence and the lawful use of Private Confession and Prayers for the Dead.[1] Then and at

[1] What were his views on the subject of Transubstantiation may be gathered from the following passage in his sermon on "The Recovery of St. Thomas:"—"Whether our Lord really rose with His wounded body from the grave or not, was a question to be settled by the bodily senses; and our Lord therefore submitted Himself to the exacting terms which St. Thomas laid down as conditions of faith. Here we may see how to answer the question whether, at the Holy Communion, the bread and wine remain *bonâ fide* bread and wine after the Consecration. That is a question which must be decided by the senses of sight and taste and touch. If these senses report that the bread is still bread, and the wine is still wine, that question is settled. True, our Lord has said of either element, "This is My Body; this is My Blood;" and serious Christians will not take liberties with His language by resolving it into metaphor and rejecting its strictly literal force. But then, how are we to reconcile the two: the report of the senses on one hand, and the plain meaning of the words of Christ on the other? We answer that we do not know: just as we do not know how to reconcile the experienced fact of the Divine Sovereignty; we cannot get nearer the truth than by saying that these elements, remaining in their natural substances, are yet, in some way to us unknown, veils of the Sacred Presence which is plainly identified with them in a pregnant sense by the words of Christ. But it will not do, in order to give what we may think a fuller effect to His words, to say that the bodily senses are deceived—that the bread is no longer bread, though it seems to

other times he never shrank from recognizing on the one hand the splendid history and devoted labours of the Churches that are subject to the Papal See. He admired intensely the great Orders, many of whom were the converters and civilizers of barbarian Europe, and the educators of the poor for many centuries; who were conspicuous for a passionate devotion to the Person of our Lord, and who, along with the Roman Catholic missionaries to the heathen in later days, have vindicated for the Communion of which they were the devoted servants its claim to be a real descendant of the Apostolic Church.

But he was too good a student of history not to recognize, on the other hand, the great failures and corruptions of the Roman See and the mediæval Church; and for him at least "the corrective and expurgatory action of the Reformation has been a substantial service to the Christian faith."[1] Of the later developments of modern Romanism, he plainly showed how dangerous was the position by which they were defended by Newman—"His Essay on the development of Christian Doctrine," he says,[2] "presents this among other aspects—it is a theological confession; it is a

be so. For to say this, is to sap one of the bases of our hold on truth: since the same senses which report to us the continued existence of bread in the consecrated elements reported the reality of the wounded Hands and Side of the risen Jesus. If the one report is illusory, so may be the other; and nothing is gained in the long run for religion by anything which casts doubt on the true functions of sense."

[1] "University Sermons" (Second Series), xv., p. 296.

[2] Ibid., vi., p. 111.

confession that the creed of the modern Church of Rome cannot be said to be strictly identical with the creed of the Apostles; that at the best they are linked with each other by a law of substantial growth, as is the oak with the acorn; and even that Roman Catholicism in its full development contains elements which have no germinal counterpart in the age of the Apostles, since they have come to it by accretion from without. Bellarmine and Bossuet had supposed that the Roman faith in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively was exactly the faith of the Apostolic and Primitive Church. But writing in the nineteenth, Möhler and Newman knew too much to entertain such a supposition. There were patent differences which had to be accounted for in some way, and there were tendencies in modern thought not unlikely to suggest or to recommend the method that actually presented itself. The theory of development in its English form was the most striking apology that could be made for a step to which its author was led by independent considerations; but it is an apology which would serve other causes, ancient and modern, at least as well as that of the Church of Rome. . . . The Church cannot know more than was known by the Apostles, and anything which men might claim to know which was unknown to the Apostles, is not Apostolic doctrine but something else." He spoke sadly of "unhappy definitions," and "untenable positions," such as were involved in the declaration of the Immaculate Conception as an article of faith, or the devotions rising out of the Festival of the Assumption—based as it is upon

a shadowy legend—and, above all, the promulgation of the Infallibility of the Pope at the Vatican Council in 1870.

In the face of all this it was no mere Protestant bias or narrow Anglicanism which made him declare that "when instructed faith, accustomed to the aspects and to the frontiers of Apostolic teaching, encounters this hypothesis, it recoils as from a block of foreign and intrusive matter; it whispers to itself, 'By God's help I will live and die in the complete circle of truths unveiled by the Apostles, but I cannot be wiser than they.'" [1]

REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

Liddon always held sanguine views of the possibilities of the Reunion of Christendom. He gave expression to the hope that the Roman Church might even take the lead in this work, that "she, the largest division of the Christian Church," may "without forfeiture of her historic continuity . . . undertake to reunite the scattered worshippers of her Redeemer in one fold." [2] He followed with intense earnestness and warm sympathy the publication of Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon," and the efforts made by him and Bishop Forbes of Brechin to open out negotiations with foreign ecclesiastics, and especially with Archbishop Darboy, of Paris, murdered by the Communists in 1871, and the celebrated Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans, for a better understanding between the authorities of the Continental Churches and the Anglican Communion. He and Dr. Pusey both had hopes that in some way or another opportunities might be given

[1] "University Sermons" (Second Series), vi., p. 114.

[2] Ibid., p. 115.

at the Vatican Council for a statement of Anglican principles, and perhaps for the defence of English Orders and Sacraments. These hopes were destined to disappointment, and after the promulgation of the dogma on the infallibility of the Pope, more than ever, as Dr. Pusey had said once, "the shores of Italy" seemed to be "perpetually receding." Those who had looked for a successful resistance to the clamour of what Dr. Newman called "an insolent faction," and who expected that in the Council, as before it, the German Episcopate and a considerable portion of the French Bishops would refuse to accept the decree, soon discovered that universal submission, with scarce an exception, was the order of the day. But in Germany a band of learned and pious divines declined to stultify themselves as their superiors had done. Foremost among them was Dr. Ignatius Döllinger, of Munich, who, in the opinion even of the Ultramontane school, enjoyed the best established reputation in Europe as a learned and accurate theologian. He was the pupil and friend of Möhler, and even before the Vatican Council had come to the conclusion that Ultramontanism could not be defended as the representative of the Primitive Catholic Church. Of his breach with Rome, and the aid that he lent to the Old Catholics of Germany, whom he never definitely and publicly joined, this is not the place to speak. But a few years after the Vatican Council, Dr. Liddon, when on a visit to Munich, had received from the great German Doctor a suggestion for the assembling of a Conference of Theologians belonging to different communions to discuss certain questions

that separated various branches of the Catholic Church.

THE BONN CONFERENCES.

The result of this suggestion was that in 1874 and the following year, conferences were held at Bonn, under the presidentship of Dr. Döllinger. In addition to other Old Catholic theologians, there were present Bishops and clergy and Professors of the Orthodox Churches, Russian and Greek, among the latter of whom was Archbishop Lycurgus, of Syra and Tenos, well known and respected in England. The American Church sent some of its leading clergy, and the Anglican Communion was further represented by several English theologians, of whom Dr. Liddon was the most prominent. The reports of these conferences were translated and published in England, with prefaces and notes by Liddon. As might have been expected, the principal and most difficult question between the Oriental and Western Churches was that of the Double Procession of the Holy Ghost. The Western divines at Bonn were willing to allow that the addition of the *Filioque* in the Creed was not made in a canonical manner, and that any idea of holding two "Principles" in the Trinity was heretical. All agreed in accepting the Ecumenical Creeds and the dogmatic decisions of the undivided Church and the form of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost as taught by the Fathers. Six propositions drawn up respecting the Holy Ghost, based mainly on the teaching of St. John Damascene, were unanimously accepted by the Conference. In addition to this, Dr. Döllinger defended Anglican Orders in a lucid address for the benefit of the Oriental theologians, and some other questions,

such as Purgatory, were dealt with by the President of the Conference.

The conferences and their results were criticized with much rancour by the Ultramontane Press, with some scorn by the secular newspapers, and with no little bitterness by the representatives of Puritanism. Dr. Pusey was by no means happy about the formula that the Bonn Conference had accepted. He thought it was practically a surrender of the position for which the Western Church had contended for so many centuries. He somewhat distrusted the attitude of the Oriental theologians, and thought the American divines were too ready to give up the *Filioque*. He even went as far as to say, "The loss of the 'and the Son' would to our untheological English mind involve the loss of the doctrine of the Trinity."[1] Dr. Liddon discussed Pusey's objections in a Report of the Second Bonn Conference, and the final result was that the Bonn propositions, though somewhat ambiguous and incomplete, were considered to be capable of becoming at least a basis for future discussion of the very difficult problem involved in the Double Procession. "We sow the seed," said Pusey, "trusting that God may give the increase in a later generation."[2]

V.

With regard to controversies within the Church in which Dr. Liddon was engaged, the most important

[1] "On the clause 'and the Son:' a Letter to H. P. Liddon, D.D.," p. 179.

[2] Ibid., p. 181.

was that connected with the Athanasian Creed. An attempt had been made, in the Ritual Commission appointed in 1867, to suggest the optional instead of the compulsory use of the Creed. Dr. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, lent the aid of his high office to this proposition. Dean Stanley, as might have been expected, vehemently urged the disuse of the *Quicunque vult;* Liddon publicly stated that he would resign all his offices and preferments if the Athanasian Creed were tampered with; Dr. Pusey conveyed the same assurance to the Archbishop. A compromise was suggested either in the direction of a retranslation of certain passages, or the alteration of the rubric prescribing its use. Bishop Wilberforce of Winchester gave more support to the attitude taken up by Pusey and Liddon than any other occupant of the Episcopal bench. Thousands of the clergy and laity were greatly alarmed. A very large and influential meeting, organized by the E.C.U., was held in St. James's Hall, on January 31st, 1873; and when Liddon rose to speak he was greeted with great enthusiasm, rendered all the more striking when he read a letter written by Dr. Pusey from abroad, urging Churchmen to maintain the Creed at all hazards. All this made a great impression on the public mind. The final result was that the Creed was retained in use and unmutilated, though the Houses of Convocation accepted a synodical declaration with regard to its warning clauses. Liddon, almost in the midst of the controversy, preached a sermon at Oxford before the University on "The Life of Faith, and the Athanasian Creed." He defended the title, the

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

use and the substance of the Creed; to disuse or mutilate it was "the first great step in a theological revolution." He showed how the Anglican Church at the Reformation had increased the frequency of its use, and how Hooker had valued it as a bulwark against the blasphemies of foreign heretics in those Continental Protestant Communions where "Athanasius' Creed is not heard." "If the Creed were discarded it would remain patent to all men that, after using this Creed for the last three centuries on the greatest Festivals of the Christian year, the English Church had deliberately abandoned it, and the friends and foes of faith would alike draw their own conclusions as to the meaning of such a step." Liddon referred in a note to the published edition of this sermon to congratulations addressed by the Socinians at Belfast to the revisers of the Irish Prayer-book on the disuse of the Athanasian Creed. "But," he continued, "the Creed would be really rejected because it is too faithful an echo of that gospel which men do not venture openly to reject. 'This is life eternal, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, Whom Thou hast sent.' Eternal life consists in a practical knowledge of God, the Holy Trinity, and of Jesus, God and man. And thus 'he that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life, but he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.' Nothing can be urged against the principle of the warning clauses which is not equally applicable to the principle of such a passage as this."[1]

Another controversy sprang up shortly afterwards on

[1] "University Sermons" (Second Series), vii., pp. 138, *seq.*

the subject of Private Confession. A petition to Convocation, signed by 483 clergy, asking among other things for the appointment by the Bishops of Licensed Confessors, aroused great popular excitement through the whole of the summer and autumn of 1873. Convocation was the scene of much disputation, and the Church Association took pains to arouse popular prejudice. After much correspondence, a full and admirable declaration was drawn up and published, giving in clear and moderate language the teaching of the Anglican Church on the true use and value of Confession and Absolution. It was signed by Liddon, along with Dr. Pusey, Father Benson, Mr. Butler of Wantage, Canon Carter of Clewer, and others, and forms an admirable exposition of what is the true Anglican teaching and practice on the subject.

CONFESSION.

Another important question arose out of what is known as the Purchas Judgment. Among other points decided by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council against Mr. Purchas, was what is called the Eastward Position. Great numbers of moderate High Churchmen, who were not in the least committed to any extreme or elaborate ritualism, were alarmed at this decision. It appeared to them that, if enforced, a valuable expression of belief in the sacrificial aspect of the Holy Eucharist would be lost. A large number of them petitioned in favour of a rehearing of this part of the case without success. The Bishops, and among them the Bishop of London, announced that they had no option about enforcing the judgment. The two Senior Canons of St. Paul's, the Rev. R. Gregory

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and Dr. Liddon, at once announced to their Bishop their intention of maintaining the Eastward Position. Liddon wrote a letter to Sir John Coleridge, who was entirely in sympathy with those who criticized the judgment of the Privy Council; and Pusey published a letter to Liddon on the subject, encouraging resistance for conscience' sake. Dr. Pusey's own practice had been to refrain from the Eastward Position at Christ Church, out of deference' to two of the older Canons. But after his practice had been quoted against that of Liddon at St. Paul's, he made it his rule only to consecrate at the North end when either of these two Canons were present. There can be no doubt that the action taken up by Dr. Liddon and his brother Canon did much to secure, for the future, liberty to use the Eastward Position, and to teach by visible action, as well as by preaching, that in the Holy Eucharist the Church takes her part, under the leadership of the earthly priest, with the presentation of the One offering made once for all on Calvary, and perpetually pleaded by the great High Priest in Heaven.

With regard to the later developments of Ritual, Liddon, like Pusey, had no personal love for elaborate ceremonial. There never was, indeed, a man who realized more deeply the meaning of reverence in worship. "Reverence," he once said, "is the sincere acknowledgment of a greatness higher than ourselves. . . . Worship is the conscious self-presentation of a reasonable creature before the illimitable greatness of God. Worship is the highest expression of reverence, which cannot help prostrating itself in

REVERENCE.

adoration. . . . Worship is a preparation; it is an education for the inevitable future."[1] And, again, "behaviour in church is not by any means the only province or exercise of reverence. Far from it. But it is a very important one, and it is a very good test of our reverence in respect of other matters . . . as a rule, if a man's bodily posture is irreverent, his thoughts and feelings are irreverent too. The reason is because the soul and body are so intimately linked to each other, that the body cannot be for long in postures which are hostile to movements of the soul. . . . If a man sees God, he will behave as it is natural to behave in the presence of the Almighty. . . . To see God is to feel it to be an imperious necessity to prostrate ourselves before Him. O come, let us worship and fall down and kneel before the Lord our Maker, is the voice of true reverence for all time."[2] Nothing could be more expressive of a deep sense of the Divine Presence than was Liddon's own careful, quiet, and reverent manner of celebrating the Holy Eucharist, without any exaggeration of gesture or demonstrative self-consciousness.

PRIVY COUNCIL JUDGMENTS.

Liddon had the greatest possible respect and affection for the devoted men whose names were prominently connected with the advanced Ritual that had been called in question, and condemned in the Purchas and Ridsdale judgments. He, like Dr. Pusey, recognized the love of souls and great devotion that inspired the life and labours of Mr. Mackonochie, and others like him; but he was alarmed at

[1] "Advent in St. Paul's" (Sense of Reverence"), p. 353.
[2] "Easter in St. Paul's" ("Reverence,") p. 330.

what appeared to him unwholesome symptoms and indications of exaggeration, both in doctrine and ceremonial, which might imperil the progress of the whole Catholic movement, and at Pusey's suggestion they both united in writing a letter to Mr. Mackonochie, pointing out some of the over-elaborated ceremonial and ill-considered language sometimes found among so-called Ritualists, and appealing to him to use his influence against giving needless offence by forcing unaccustomed ceremonial upon unprepared people. But nothing came of it in the shape of any definite action on the part of the extreme section of the High Church party. Liddon disliked the use of the word "Mass," which, he said, "alienated thousands who ought to belong to us."

But with all his anxiety not to press externals in cases where the spiritual truths that underlay them were not apprehended, his own sympathies, character and temperament went entirely along with all efforts to improve the services of the Church in England. He was a true Tractarian in placing doctrine first, and symbolism second; but he admired and supported the younger school of Catholic clergy in the general principles that guided them in the revival of doctrine, discipline and worship. They looked to him as the great leader and teacher of those truths which they were endeavouring to set forth in the parishes and missions which they served. He may have disapproved of this or that expression, and disliked this or that detail of ceremonial; but he was the last man to damp the ardour and enthusiasm of devoted priests, who went further than

he did in language or action, by unnecessary criticism, whatever were his private opinions about particular details of ceremonial. But he was not content with adopting anything like an attitude of benevolent neutrality. He saw that the resistance even to imprisonment on the part of two incumbents, the Revs. T. P. Dale and R. W. Enraght, was not due merely to a "silly and obstinate adherence to an illegal ceremonial." The details of the ritual condemned might or might not be unimportant and insignificant, though in Liddon's mind such things could not be regarded as mere trifles in view of the care shown by St. Paul with regard to the dress of Christian women in Christian Churches, the behaviour of Christians at the Holy Communion, as well as the far higher and graver matters concerning morals and faith. But in reality, great and important principles were at stake, and Liddon was well aware of this.

"THOUGHTS ON PRESENT CHURCH TROUBLES."

In 1881 he published four sermons with an important preface under the title of "Thoughts on Present Church Troubles;" he dealt with the common charge brought against the so-called Ritualistic clergy, of lawlessness, and said, "There is occasion for considering whether some error in legislation may not for the time being have made obedience to the law of the land inconsistent with some higher sense of duty, in the case of unquestionably good men who are also not demonstrably unreasonable." He then went on to discuss the claims of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the Judge created by the Public Worship Regulation Act, to be regarded as legitimate authorities in spiritual questions. He recalled the

principle affirmed by the "statute for the restraint of appeals" that ecclesiastical courts should interpret all statutes relating to spiritual questions; that when ecclesiastical causes came before the Court of Delegates that court should be composed only of ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical lawyers. He showed that in the opinion of Lord Brougham the transference of ecclesiastical causes from the Court of Delegates to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, was scarcely contemplated by the authors of the change; and while carefully laying it down that he did not desire the abolition of the Royal Supremacy, denied that that Supremacy is necessarily identical with the supremacy of the great lawyers, and strongly urged the desirability of creating an Episcopal final Court of Appeal. "If," said he, "the members of such a Court were elected by the Episcopate, they would all have been nominated to their Sees by the Crown, and no effect could be given to their decisions on any questions of property unless the Crown lent the aid of its coercive jurisdiction."

Eighteen years later, Churchmen are still hoping that an Episcopal Court may prove the means of bringing about a peaceful solution of Church troubles.

But Liddon also gave, in clear and trenchant language, reasons why it was difficult for Churchmen to regard Lord Penzance as, in any sense, a real Dean of the Arches. To them he appeared merely as "a civil judge, invested with no more spiritual authority than an Act of Parliament can confer." Lord Penzance had distinctly failed to comply with the regulations of the canons in taking the oath required of ecclesiastical

judges. It is said that this was done deliberately, and that he could not defer to the provisions of the canon without implying that the statute was insufficient to make him what he claimed to be. "But," said Dr. Liddon, "so long as the 127th Canon is unrepealed by the Church, Lord Penzance is a standing violation of her laws; and there is surely something to be said for the conscientious difficulties of clergymen respecting any act which would involve the acknowledgment of his ecclesiastical authority."

The titles of the four sermons are significant: "The Coming of the Divine Kingdom," in which the spiritual power of the Church was shown to be independent of the accidents of Empire and State; "The Attractiveness of the Saints," where the character of St. John the Baptist was indicated as the type of that which, when realized in men of the present day, takes captive the world, by its severity and saintliness: "The Law and the Gospel," where the essence of Christianity was shown to be based, not so much on rules as to external observances, as on the great principles of a living and working faith; and "The Power of Martyrdom," in which it was contended that while the force of such an heroic death as St. Stephen, and of countless other martyrs, was felt in the extension of the Christian Church throughout the world; yet persecution must always be a criminal folly, at least in all who name the Name of Christ. Those who heard these sermons could be under no mistake as to the meaning of the preacher, the subject he referred to, and his own opinion, as conveyed in the following characteristic passage:—

"Maintain, if you like, that your Bible is honeycombed with mistakes and legends, provided only that you do not maintain it too coarsely and too provokingly. But beware, oh! beware of the crime for which our modern wisdom practically reserves its sternest condemnations, the crime of wearing a vestment too many or a vestment too few; since this error may perchance expose you to ruder punishments than any which are at the disposal of a spiritual society. We can imagine, I had said, a Christian Church holding this language; but I correct myself—we cannot imagine it. We can only suppose, that if she should seem thus to speak, some other ruling influence than hers must, for the moment, have taken the seat of her own pastors, and that it is using terms which they would fain repudiate if they could."

ST. PAUL'S AND ITS SERVICES.

At all events he warmly approved of the great changes that transformed both the fabric and services of St. Paul's Cathedral. Up to about the middle of the century nothing could have been more dreary than the appearance of the structure, and nothing more depressing than the character of the services in the great Cathedral of London. What was Liddon's share in the great changes may be learned from the following testimony of one competent to tell us:—

"The crowds which came to Liddon's sermons had carried the ordinary Sunday service out of the choir into the dome, and, once there, it never went back. . . . The personal factor by which the claim of St. Paul's, to become once more a wide spiritual home for London, could make itself heard and felt over the hearts of large

multitudes, was to be found in the preaching of Dr. Liddon. That voice reached far and wide. It fixed the attention of the whole city on what was going forward in its midst. It kindled the imagination, so that the big world outside was prepared for great things. It compelled men to treat seriously what was done. No one could suppose that the changes in the services and ritual at St. Paul's were superficial or formal, or of small account, so long as that voice rang on like a trumpet, telling of righteousness and temperance and judgment, preaching ever and always, with personal passion of belief, Jesus Christ and Him crucified. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of Liddon's presence at St. Paul's, for these twenty years, in the way of making acceptable and justifiable to reasonable men the type of worship which was to be asserted under the leadership which now made it practicable."[1]

VI.

IRELAND PROFESSORSHIP.

Of Liddon's work as Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis there is not space to say much. He had been offered the post of first Warden of Keble College in 1869. This he felt it his duty to decline, and when he was offered the canonry of St. Paul's, Pusey was anxious to retain him at Oxford. Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury, who urged the acceptance of the offer, realized, as others have done since, the

[1] Canon Scott Holland in "Dean Church's Life and Letters," p. 216, 217.

great work that a cathedral might do, and, above all, such a cathedral as St. Paul's, in the very centre of English life. It is somewhat surprising that Pusey failed then, as he had more than thirty years before in his pamphlet on "Cathedral Reform," addressed to Lord Henley, to grasp the great opportunities that may be given to a well-worked cathedral. He would have wished to keep Liddon altogether at Oxford, first as Warden of Keble, and then afterwards as Ireland Professor. To him no other place in England was equal to Oxford as a centre for influencing English thought, and when Liddon went to St. Paul's it seemed to him a personal loss. The great ideal of a cathedral, which Dr. Benson gave expression to in both writing and act, had not presented itself to the mind of Dr. Pusey. Perhaps the peculiar circumstances of Christ Church, Oxford, which linked together a Chapter, a Professoriate, and a College, made it less easy for him to estimate the true value of the Cathedral system, not merely as a centre of learning, but as the Mother Church of the diocese. Nearly two years later, Liddon was suffering from the strain of his twofold work. Few can realize what complicated duties and ramifications of engagements, personal and public, gathered round his duties at St. Paul's. His correspondence was very large; he was always ready to answer letters of inquiry sent to him respecting statements made in his sermons; he was ever most conscientious in endeavouring to remove doubts or misapprehensions arising out of language that he had used. Many persons also sought his counsel on spiritual matters, and this involved not

only interviews but a voluminous and continual correspondence.

It was no matter of surprise that his health began to give way, even at that early date, 1872. He threw such energy into his preaching, and attended so conscientiously to the preparation and delivery of his lectures, that to retain both offices seemed impossible. He seriously contemplated the resignation of his Professorship. Dr. Pusey regarded the Oxford work as a relief from the strain of his duties at St. Paul's, and, at his earnest request, Dr. Liddon retained the Professorship until after Pusey's death. It may be sufficient to give some account of one great monument of Liddon's Professorial teaching, contained in his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans. To assist those who attended his lectures in following the sequence of teaching contained in this, the greatest, most elaborate, and most difficult, of St. Paul's epistles, Dr. Liddon had printed a series of papers, which formed a kind of skeleton or outline of the argument. They were afterwards enlarged and altered, and published after his death exactly in the form in which he left them. The author himself tells us that he had largely followed Meyer, whose scholarship he admired, though he often had to differ from his theology. As might have been supposed, he drew largely from patristic writers, both Greek and Latin, and it is interesting to notice how he marshals a series of eleven writers of Christian antiquity in favour of applying the Doxology in chapter ix. 5, to Christ our Lord. He gathered illustrations and arguments from Anglican writers like

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Hooker, Pearson, and Butler; and Lutheran divines like Martensen and Delitsch; and numerous references to classical writers, Greek and Latin, to Plato and Homer, Cicero and Seneca, may be found in the pages of this book. Perhaps, of all writers, St. Augustine was most frequently quoted—a saint whose life and character had a very great and permanent attraction for him. The whole Epistle was most elaborately analyzed in a form easily apprehended by the eye. Difficulties are never shirked, and, in referring to it, a student will not experience the not uncommon disappointment that meets him in commentaries on finding the very point he looked for passed by. The well-known passage in chapter vii. 14–25, is most carefully discussed. Dr. Liddon has recorded in these notes the great difficulty he felt in arriving at a solution of the question whether the experience of the regenerate or unregenerate man is there described. Even after the printing of his Analysis he changed his opinion, but did not obliterate the record of his earlier view. The work is very valuable for its keen logic and accurate scholarship. It contains profitable warnings against Lutheran perversions of St. Paul's teaching, and sets forth in Liddon's happiest manner the Person and work of our Lord as the object of our faith. See, for instance, his notes on chapter x. 9, "Faith unites the soul to the Crucified One, living because risen, and true faith cannot but own Him as the soul's Κύριος before men. The necessity of an outward profession of the truths to which we yield internal assent is taught by our Lord (St. Matt. x. 32), and especially in the fragment of an Apostolic

hymn, quoted at 2 Tim. ii. 12. Not merely in conversation and example, but in creeds, in worship, if need be at the cost of suffering, must this ὁμολογία be made. The confession before the world of the Κυριότης of Jesus, while acknowledging His present relation to the πιστεύων and to the Church, also glances back at His pre-existent, as yet unincarnate Person; He is the eternal Κύριος as the Son of God, and this is powerfully proclaimed to the world by His Resurrection (Rom. i. 4)."

BIBLE READINGS.

St. Paul's Epistles formed the principal part of the subject of his lectures, as well as of his private Sunday Evening Bible Readings; and it is interesting to note the great attraction that the personality, career, and writings of the great Apostle had for one who served the Cathedral Church that bears his name. In January, 1874, Dr. Liddon delivered two lectures on week-day evenings on the life of St. Paul: the first on "The Preparation of the Apostle for his Work;" the second on "his Career as the Missionary, the Church Ruler and the Martyr." The concluding sentence of the latter of these two lectures was as follows:—"There is no serious critical reason for rejecting the ordinary account of his martyrdom; he was beheaded outside the gate of Rome which looks towards the port at the mouth of the Tiber, and which is now called the Gate of St. Paul. A splendid church, first erected by the Emperor Constantine, and lately rebuilt after the great fire of 1824, marks the neighbourhood, at any rate, of the spot on which Paul of Tarsus passed to receive, as he

ST. PAUL AND HIS WRITINGS.

believed, a crown of righteousness. But his enduring monument at this moment, and to the end of time, will be his great unrivalled place in the Sacred Canon, and the gratitude of millions of hearts, to whom he is the incessant minister of a truth whereby the two deepest longings of the human soul may be satisfied—the longing to be inwardly righteous, and the longing for a true inward peace." It is not surprising that Dr. Liddon selected a large number of the texts of his sermons from the writings of St. Paul; and, besides those included in other volumes, nineteen have been collected and published since his death, which illustrate a number of the leading ideas of the great Apostle.[1] Such subjects as "The Resurrection," "The Foolishness and Power of the Cross," "Victory over the Last Enemy," "Justifying Faith," obviously direct one to the great Epistles that enshrine the fundamental truths that St. Paul preached. Other sermons on such subjects as "Considerations for Criminals," preached before the Lord Mayor and Judges, "Intelligent Prayer," "Christian Growth," contain a wealth of illustration from ancient and modern Church history, and practical teaching on a great variety of subjects social and moral, as well as on the spiritual life of the individual.

Some specimens of these sermons may well be quoted:—"The Bible is power—the power of an Infallible Spirit teaching the souls of men from pages which have been preternaturally preserved from the taint of error, and with a living force which bridges the centuries that have passed since its latest books were

[1] "Sermons on Words of St. Paul."

written, a force which is to us what it was to its earliest readers. The Creed is power; as we repeat it to-day, we touch with lips and heart truths of imperishable import; with the heart we believe them unto righteousness, and with the mouth we make confession of them unto salvation. The Sacraments are power; the power of the Living and Eternal Christ veiling His tenderest and most intimate dealings with the soul under the simplest of outward transactions, and robing the lowliest and poorest members of His Kingdom, before the eyes of His Angels, with majesty and beauty, and force and light, by uniting them to Himself; the Church is power, so far as she claims her true rank as God's spiritual Kingdom upon earth, so far as she wields with faith and love the heavenly weapons which God has given her, so far as she can rise to love men well enough to tell them, at all costs, the truth."

In his sermon on "Intelligent Prayer" are some admirable words on the use of the vernacular in public worship. "The Latin language was like the tongues of Corinth—magnificent; but too generally unintelligible. And when she translated the old Latin services, which she had used for centuries, into the Common Prayer-book of our day, the Church of England said with the Apostle, 'As heretofore, let me pray with the spirit, but I and my children will endeavour to pray with the understanding also.'"

In the sermon of "Victory over the Last Enemy" may be found some eminently practical and searching words on sin, as the sting of death. "Apart from grave violations of God's moral Law, we may well be conscious

of a general habit of life which is sinful, in that it is not in accordance with what we know to be God's will. Our waste of time, our waste of money, our purposelessness in what we do with ourselves, our frivolous or ill-natured conversations, our petty and enduring jealousies, our subjection to unworthy prejudices and to feeble irritability; the empires of state of thought and policy which, like a blight or a pest, kill all that is tender and beautiful in a life; the empire of unchaste imaginations; of unresisted sloth; of vague desires for place and promotion; of lazy, unconfronted, unverified doubt. We think little of these things taken separately; but in the aggregate they mean a life which is not in accordance with the Divine Will, and which in its bent, direction, spirit, physiognomy, is a sinful life. Possibly no monstrous sin has as yet disfigured it—no thoroughly deliberate lie, no successful theft, no flagrant adultery. But its general character is such that we shrink as with a pang from the thought of death."

OXFORD FRIENDS.

There was much to make Liddon's life at Oxford happy and congenial. At Christ Church, in addition to the intimacy with Dr. Pusey, which was one of the great joys of his life, he had the happiness of being surrounded with colleagues and friends thoroughly in sympathy with his belief and work. Dr. King, who had the same experience as himself at Cuddesdon, was at this time in residence along with him. Of him he has recorded in the sermon he preached at his friend's consecration, the following appreciation:—

"Never probably in our time has the great grace of sympathy, controlled and directed by a clear sense of the

nature and sacredness of revealed truth, achieved so much among so many young men as has been achieved, first at the Theological College of Cuddesdon, and then from the Pastoral Chair at Oxford, in the case of my dear and honoured friend." Dr. Bright, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, shared his friendship, and has recorded what that intimacy was to himself and others :— "We recall the charm of that intense, unique personality, at once so commanding and so attractive ; that conversation, so enriching, so illuminating, with its brilliance and its humour, its fulness and energy of thought, its refined and perfect accuracy of expression ; we think of what he was as a friend, how tender, helpful, and faithful, how pathetically generous in his estimate of the most trivial kindnesses ; of the pains which he would take in answering questions even when he was well-nigh tired out ; of the sympathy which he would spend on the difficulties and anxieties of others ; of the exquisite old-world courtesy which flowed forth simply and without effort, to persons of all sorts and conditions, on the principle of 'honour due to all men for the Son of Man's sake.'" [1]

Among the younger Oxford men of those days who were greatly influenced by him, and were rising up in their turn to carry on, each in his own characteristic way, the main principles of the Oxford Movement, were Scott Holland, F. Paget, C. Gore. The former has recorded in telling language what was the value of Liddon's example and teaching to those whom he

[1] Sermon preached at Christ Church, Sunday, September 14, 1890.

described as "the younger brood at Oxford, shaken and confused by the new powers that had taken hold of the intellectual life. We were staggering about; we were often lifted off our feet; we were weaklings caught in a strong stream. And it was everything to have before us one who gave us a standard of what spiritual conviction should mean; one who never cringed, or shrank, or compromised, or slid; one who looked unswervingly on the eternal things; one who was evidence to us of what the Sacraments of the Incarnation could work in those who yielded to them in body, soul, and spirit; one who had committed his all to the dominion and service of Christ, 'casting down before it all reasonings and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.' There he was; there was no mistaking him. He would die gladly for his Creed; we felt it; we knew it; and it shamed us and braced us just when shame and bracing were most needful."[1]

CHANGES IN THE UNIVERSITY.

But probably Liddon hardly realized what his influence was at Oxford, for it seldom happens that it is given to a man to see in his lifetime the results of his own teaching and example. And as the years went on, he became more and more depressed by the effects and results of what to him was the great "Revolution" in Oxford. He had known it in the time, when, in spite of many deficiencies and lost opportunities, it held its place as a great Christian University, living and acting, with a brief interruption in the seventeenth century, as the handmaid

[1] *Contemporary Review*, October, 1890.

of the Church of England for a thousand years. One after another, great changes had taken place, notably the abolition of religious tests, and the consequent admission of non-churchmen to Fellowships and Tutorships. As early as 1868, Bishop Gray, of Cape Town, writes, describing the festival at Cuddesdon—"Liddon preached one of his great sermons; his account of the state of Oxford and its prospects, most distressing and alarming, but borne out by all I heard from the Vice-Chancellor, Rector of Exeter, etc."[1] This despondent view was not confined to High Churchmen, for in the "Life of Henry Bazeley, the Oxford Evangelist," the alarming spread of scepticism among the undergraduates at that period is noted and deplored. Those were the days of the restlessness consequent on the publication of "Essays and Reviews," and the fears of what might be the result of the Colenso controversy. As time went on, the wave of scepticism and doubt to some extent passed away; but step by step inroads were made upon the old Oxford of Liddon's youth, culminating in the second University Commission. Then it seemed to him as if Oxford had become "a chaos of disintegrated convictions." It appeared to him almost on the point of becoming "a place of purely secular instruction, which might have been founded last week by a company of shareholders." To him the slight concessions made to religious teaching and worship such as the Professorships of Divinity, the single Clerical Fellow in certain colleges, were hardly worth considering. He would have preferred for the Church to

[1] "Life of Bishop Gray," vol. ii., p. 422.

have retained two or three colleges out of her great inheritance, perhaps those only founded since the Reformation, and for the rest to have been frankly secularized. There were occasions, no doubt, when he realized the brighter side of all these changes, which those who have come after are perhaps better able to perceive. That religion in a University may gain by becoming less official and more spontaneous; that a vocation to Holy Orders may be far more real and spiritual if there be no prospect of the College Fellowship and future benefice, he was ready to allow; but the danger on the other side was always before his mind, and he described it in sombre colours. "A young man," he says, "has been trained in a Christian family, and is looking forward to serving God in Holy Orders; but he comes to Oxford to unlearn, one by one, the convictions which his mother had taught him, and to make up his mind that he cannot become a clergyman, on the ground that he doubts whether he can still honestly profess himself a Christian. This is no imaginary picture; nor should it, in reason, occasion us any surprise. Young men are naturally influenced in religious matters by those whose information and powers of thought they have learnt to respect when studying other subjects; and if those who teach are, in whatever sense, unfriendly to the claims of Divine revelation, it is not singular that their pupils should be so too."[1]

It was for this reason that he so earnestly threw himself into the foundation, first of Keble College, and then of the Pusey Library. KEBLE COLLEGE.

[1] "Clerical Life and Work," xiv., pp. 372–3.

They were to supply a new need not felt under the old conditions of the University. Bearing honoured and venerated names, they were destined, he hoped, to become homes of sacred learning and rallying points for Christian faith. Through them the old traditions of centuries past, and the revived worship and teaching of the Church, the fruit of the Oxford Movement, were to be preserved, handed on, and extended. If that Movement, with all its great influence, had been met with cold suspicion and active hostility—if, as he said, "to a certain extent the opposition triumphed; some of the best men of the Movement moved away to another Church which knew how to welcome and honour them;" if . . . "all that the opponents of the Movement would themselves have valued, or nearly all, has perished," it remained for the Church in our time to make use of the fresh opportunity, given in a new foundation, of maintaining the Christian revelation as understood by the ancient and undivided Church of Christ.

VII.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

It has been sometimes said that Canon Liddon's mind was saturated with "the magic and music of the ecclesiastical past," rather than with the most urgent problems of the present, and that, in the case of physical science especially, he had but little sympathy with its more recent developments. But this is scarcely a just criticism. It is, of course, perfectly true that he had not the special qualifications that were found in Aubrey Moore, who, if he had lived,

might have achieved a still larger measure of success in reconciling the claims of theology and science than he actually was able to effect. Liddon had not Moore's scientific training, and the bent of his mind was in the direction rather of dogma than of scientific observation. But he was always just to the claims of true science, to which he gave a very high value in many of his public utterances. Take, for instance, his recognition of law in all God's works: "He acts, we may be sure . . . whether in nature or in grace, by some law which His own perfections impose upon His action. He may have given to us of these later days to see a very little deeper beneath the surface of the natural world than was the case with our fathers . . . the frontier of our ignorance is removed one stage further back."[1] And again, "Certainly theology, if she understands her own interests, can have no wish to disparage or discountenance this kind of knowledge. She will, indeed, decline to revise the Creed or the Bible in deference to some tentative hypothesis, which the imagination rather than the positive knowledge of this or that eminent writer may suggest. But the mental habits which, in its higher moods, physical science encourages, are all her own. Love of positive truth, perseverance under difficulties, intrepid accuracy, are virtues which theology also cultivates."[2]

He refused to recognize that religion and science were in an irretrievable position of antagonism. "Science may for the moment be hostile; in the long

[1] "University Sermons" (Second Series), v., p. 81.
[2] Ibid., ii., p. 40.

run it cannot but befriend us. We may have to surrender misapprehensions, or to make explanations along the frontier where the Faith touches on the province of physics; science will help us if she forces us to surrender the untenable."[1] As an example of this fairness towards science and its modern exponents, reference may be made to a remarkable sermon preached on Sunday, April 23, 1882, at St. Paul's, entitled "The Recovery of St. Thomas," and afterwards published with notes. In the sermon Dr. Liddon made one of his graphic references to Mr. Darwin, whose death had just occurred. He spoke sympathetically of the great naturalist's patience and care in observing and registering facts. He maintained that Darwin's works, which when they first appeared, were largely regarded as containing a theory hostile to religion, need not of necessity be so interpreted. Evolution and natural selection may very well be found to be the methods of the creative activity of God, rather than the older theories of catastrophes. In the notes and preface, while upholding the constant watchfulness of the Personal Creator over His handiwork, as distinguished from the mechanical theory of the natural world, acting under secondary causes, in independence of the infinite mind of the Creator, he was quite willing to make reasonable concessions which did not impugn the truth of such fundamental doctrines as the Creation of the world by the Almighty, or the Incarnation of the Son of God. "Man's true dignity depends not upon the history of his physical frame, but upon the nature of

[1] "University Sermons" (Second Series), ix., p. 180.

the immaterial principle within him, and, above all, upon the unspeakable honour conferred upon both parts of his being when they were united to the eternal Person of God the Son in the Divine Incarnation. But Holy Scripture tells us that 'the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul.' If the Church should hereafter teach that this formation was not a momentary act, but a process of development continued through a long series of ages, she would not vary the traditional interpretation so seriously as was done in the case of passages which appeared to condemn in terms the teaching of Galileo. Nor would the earlier description of the creation of man in the sacred record present any greater difficulty. It is very far from clear that the Darwinian hypothesis has so established itself as to make such a modified interpretation necessary; only let it be considered that here, as elsewhere, the language of the Bible is wider than to be necessarily tied down to the terms of a particular account of man's natural history."

There was one very serious cloud that overshadowed the latter days of Liddon's Oxford life, and that was the spread of doubts of the authority of the Old Testament and its claims upon Christians. The matter had long been gathering head, first in Germany and then in England. Writing in November, 1889, Dean Church said to Liddon, "Ever since I could think I have felt that these anxious and disturbing questions would one day or other be put to us, and that we were not quite prepared, or preparing, to meet them

THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

effectively." Dr. Pusey had said exactly the same thing sixty years before. Liddon was a devout student of the Old Testament, and used it largely for subjects of his sermons. He did not shrink from dealing with difficulties such as Deborah's blessing on Jael, or the miracles in the life of Jonah, or the fall of the walls of Jericho, or the bones of Elisha, though on other occasions he selected subjects rather for moral and spiritual teaching. Among the latter may be mentioned the sermon on the Disobedient Prophet. It would be difficult to find a finer discourse than this. The sin of elder persons in chilling the enthusiasm of younger ones is admirably drawn out: "Do I say that young men are never guilty of extravagant enthusiasms, and that old men are not bound to set them right? Far from it. But it is one thing to pour cold water on a noble and burning impulse; another to give it a right direction."[1]

Liddon did not treat criticism lightly or scornfully; he faced it with faith and courage. "Criticism," he once said, "has its great duties and its ascertained rights. It may brace the air which religion breathes, it may sweep the home which she tenants. But criticism is not religion, nor is she always the servant of religion. Criticism may have done us an ill turn in unkindly or unskilful hands, but it has more weapons to place at the disposal of the faith, than opportunities of wounding it; and when, as is sometimes the case, criticism virtually usurps the place of faith, the soul is starved even to death upon the dry husks which are all that are offered

[1] "Old Testament Sermons," p. 178.

for spiritual nutriment."[1] And again, when speaking of enthusiasm in the cause of Christ and His Church, he said, "It may be thought that this form of enthusiasm belongs to a day when the Old Testament had not yet been largely resolved by criticism into late forgeries or doubtful legends, and when the heroes of popular novels had not yet cast off the dust of their feet against the Creed of Christendom. No, my brethren, these features of our time do not really affect the religious situation. Wait a little, and you will see that, as after inquiry, to which Cambridge has contributed more than her share, the New Testament has survived Strauss and Baur and Schwegler, so the Old will not finally go to pieces at the bidding of Kuenen and Wellhausen. All that negative criticism can do is to modify some incidental feature of our traditional way of looking at Scripture; the main fabric remains intact."[2]

He, who had so firm a belief in the unceasing presence of Christ in His Church, and of the indwelling power of the Holy Ghost, could have no serious doubts of the future of the written Word of God as the abiding record of the Divine Revelation. He feared little the assaults from without; what wounded and pained him were the concessions from within to the advancing tide of criticism. The pain was all the greater from the fact that the concessions came from the very quarter where resistance might have been expected, from the very walls of that institution bearing the honoured name of his spiritual master, which he had hoped would be

[1] "University Sermons" (Second Series), vi., p. 116.
[2] "Sermons on Special Occasions," xv., pp. 339, 340.

a bulwark against the disintegrating forces of negative criticism.

What was most serious to him was the apparent attempt to make the supposed results of the Higher Criticism acceptable to Christians, at the expense of the infallibility of our Lord Jesus Christ. While he had all along, as early as his Bampton Lectures, recognized limitation of knowledge in our Lord's human mind, he emphatically resisted all teaching that implied that the Incarnate Son of God could err on any matters on which He made positive affirmation.

TWO GREAT SERMONS.

In January, 1890, and in the following May, he preached two important sermons which were published at the time: the first entitled "The Worth of the Old Testament," the second "The Inspiration of Selection." In the former, which was preached at St. Paul's, he dwelt on "the trustworthiness of the Old Testament," which could not be maintained if large portions of it, such as Deuteronomy, or Daniel, were held to be merely dramatized or fictitious narratives. Our Lord's acceptance and treatment of the Old Testament set a seal upon its trustworthiness, and it is no true way to meet the supposed difficulties raised by the Higher Criticism to assert that our Lord never claimed a critical knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures. "If we believe," said Dr. Liddon, "that He is the true Light of the world, we shall close our ears against suggestions impairing the credit of those Jewish Scriptures which have received the stamp of His Divine authority." The sermon went on to enlarge upon the vast difference between the Jewish Scriptures and even the noblest

literature of ancient or modern times. "Could any merely human authors have stood the test which the Old Testament has stood? Think what it has been to the Jewish people throughout the tragic vicissitudes of their wonderful history. Think what it has been to Christendom. For nineteen centuries it has formed the larger part of the religious handbook of the Christian Church; it has shaped Christian hopes; it has largely governed Christian legislation; it has supplied the language for Christian prayer and praise. The noblest and saintliest souls in Christendom have, one after another, fed their souls on it, or even on fragments of it; taking a verse and shutting the spiritual ear to everything else, and in virtue of the concentrated intensity with which they have thus sought, for days, weeks, and months, and years, to penetrate the inmost secrets of this or that fragment of its concentrated language, rising to heroic heights of effort and endurance."

He dwelt upon the second or deeper sense of Scripture underlying the literal, superficial sense, and showed how the Church in all ages had recognized our Lord Jesus Christ as the end of the law, and the whole of the Old Testament to every one that believeth, and he quoted the profound and oft-repeated saying of St. Augustine, "that as the Old Testament is manifested in the New, so the New Testament is latent in the Old." He spoke of the great interest to be found in the Bible, the great variety of literary forms gathered up into it; he compared it to the great Cathedral in which he was preaching. "The great Temple of Christ," as he called it, with all its magnificence of structure, of faultless

proportions, the many monuments of the dead everywhere meeting the eye; and in language that recalls the beautiful poem of Isaac Williams entitled "The Cathedral," he went on to say, "And when we take up the Bible, we enter in spirit a far more splendid temple, which it needed some fifteen centuries to build, and the variety and resource of which distances all comparison —a temple built, not out of stone and marble, but with human words, yet enshrining within it, for the comfort and warning, the correction and encouragement of every human soul, no other and no less than the Holy and Eternal Spirit. Of that temple the Old Testament is the nave, with its side-aisles of Psalm and Prophecy; the Gospels are the choir—the last Gospel, perhaps, the very sanctuary; while all around and behind are the Apostolic Epistles and the Apocalypse, each a gem of beauty, each supplying an indispensable feature to the majestic whole. With what joy should we daily enter that temple! With what profound reverence should we cross its threshold! With what care should we mark and note—where nothing is meaningless—each feature, each ornament, that decorates wall, or window, or roof! How high should be our expectations of the blessings that may be secured within it! How open, and yet how submissive, should be our hearts to the voices—they are not of this world—that might touch and change and purify them!"

The second sermon, entitled "The Inspiration of Selection," preached at Oxford, treated of the work of the Holy Ghost in glorifying Jesus Christ in three ways: (1) The transformation of human character;

(2) the organization of the Christian Church; (3) the creation of the sacred literature of the New Testament. The preacher showed that in the inspiration of the Gospels, the method of selection had been used to record the life and teaching of Christ, in a manner best fitted for teaching mankind. The same method is observable in the Apostolic Epistles. Nor was this a new method of selection from, and interpretation of, already existing materials; for it may be traced in the historians and prophets of the Old Testament. The early history of Genesis, the ritual of the tabernacle and temple, were embodied in the old covenant from traditions and ceremonials originally existing among pagan people. Again, St. Paul used rabbinical arguments and quoted heathen writers; St. John perhaps referred to the philosophy of Philo; while, as time went on, institutions and philosophy, originally Jewish or Gentile, were consecrated to the service of the Catholic Church. But to attribute the speeches attributed to David, or the addresses ascribed to Moses in Deuteronomy, to writers of the age of Josiah or of the days after the exile; or to say that Daniel's predictions are really a history written in the form of a fictitious prophecy, is really to show that the Holy Spirit could not have inspired the writings in question. Much more to say that the discourses of our Lord, as reported by St. John, are merely the voice of some Platonized Jew of the second century, or that the Apostolic sermons in the Acts or their Epistles were composed in order to procure Apostolic authority for the organizations of a later age, is to ascribe to the Holy Spirit fiction in an historical guise.

"The Book of Truth," said Liddon, "cannot belie either the laws of truth or the Spirit and Source of Truth."

It was evident from these sermons, and from other statements, that Liddon was greatly distressed at the line taken by some of his younger friends. To them he seemed "to have closed the door instinctively" to things which they had felt bound to deal with. He "held at arm's length" much that they had absorbed and made their own. To him their attitude seemed to be dangerously near to a betrayal of the Church's deposit, and to a surrender of a complete and unswerving faith in the infallibility of Jesus Christ as the great Teacher of the Church. Perhaps it will be possible for a future generation to trace the restraining influence of the great preacher of the God-Head of "his dearest Lord" (to use an expression employed by one who preached a memorial sermon on him)[1] on the younger school of men who were largely affected by the Higher Criticism. Perhaps it may be found, as the years go by, that a reconciliation will be discovered which shall retain unimpaired the truth of the Incarnation as Liddon held and taught it, and the Divine authority of Holy Scripture as the inspired Word of God, with a new understanding of the origin and development of the literary vehicle in which that Word is enshrined.

[1] The Dean of Gloucester, quoted in the *Guardian*, September 17, 1890.

VIII.

The death of Dr. Pusey in 1882 was soon followed by Liddon's resignation of his Professorship. He had been constantly in his society, and been able to give him much useful and affectionate service. It is interesting to find that it was Liddon, in 1872, who was able to arrange a meeting between Gladstone and Dr. Pusey, at Oxford, after a separation of two years consequent on the strong disapproval felt by the latter of the appointment of Dr. Temple to the see of Exeter. During Pusey's serious illness in 1878, Dr. Newman, with affectionate anxiety, wrote to Liddon to inquire, not only after the health, but the spiritual state of his old friend. Liddon was able to assure him that he had not a shadow of doubt "as to the entire consistency of his position as to the revealed Will of God." In 1879, Liddon, in a letter to Dr. Pusey, expressed his wish to resign his Professorship, and write a life of his friend. In spite of Dr. Pusey's great unwillingness, Liddon made up his mind to that which he afterwards carried, at least in part, into effect. The "Life of Dr. Pusey" became the labour of love of the last years of Liddon. He wrote portions of it in full, both in the earlier and latter pages of the book, and gathered immense quantities of material for the completion of the whole. He was abroad when Dr. Pusey's last illness began, and in spite of his attempt to get back to England in time, he was too late to see him again alive. He was able, however, to take part in the funeral service at Christ Church, and to read the opening sentences,

DEATH OF DR. PUSEY.

as well as to commit "his dear body" to the grave. What were his feelings at the loss he had sustained may be learned from his diary: "So he has left us—most dear and revered of friends, of whose friendship I have been all along so utterly unworthy. How little I can realize it, though I have been looking forward to this day for twenty years. Now that dearest Dr. Pusey is gone, the world is no longer the same world. . . . He Who created and trained Dr. Pusey, can train successors if He will. *Requiescat in pace amicus dilectissimus.*"

MINOR WORKS.

Liddon edited several minor works, among which were a "Manual of Private Prayer" and "Prayers for a Schoolboy," also an excellent edition of Bishop Andrewes' "Manual for the Sick." Following the suggestion of Bishop Forbes of Brechin, to whose memory he dedicated the book, he brought out an English edition of Rosmini's "Five Wounds of the Holy Church," translated into English, with a preface and notes. The author was a liberal Catholic in the political sense, though in doctrine an Ultramontane. The "Five Wounds" were the (1) Division between the people and the clergy in public worship; (2) The insufficient education of the clergy; (3) Disunion among the Bishops; (4) The nomination of Bishops by the lay power; (5) The infringement of the Church's rights of property. Rosmini had great hopes that, on the accession of Pius IX., a new era was opening for the Church in Italy; those hopes were destined to be disappointed, and his writings were vigorously attacked, although in the end pronounced to be free from censure. Liddon thought that in spite of the Ultramontanism of the

writer, there was much that English Churchmen might learn from the work of this far-seeing Italian. Especially did he long for a better standard of education for the clergy. On this point he asked, "If the Universities are failing us, is the effort to establish and raise the standard of Theological Colleges sufficiently general and hearty to secure to the Church of England a highly educated and devoted clergy, in the troublous days that are probably before us?" Again, on the appointment of English Bishops, he had another question to put, "Are they always selected with a view to the spiritual interests of the body over which they are to preside, and without any reference to political sympathies or to personal bias?" With regard to Church property, again he asked a question: "Must not we of the Church of England feel the justice of our author's remarks, respecting the idea of Church property changed from that of a common fund, held in trust for the support of the clergy and the relief of the poor, to that of a number of separate estates absolutely appropriated by the holders of single benefices?"

ILL-HEALTH.

The busy life, the strain of preaching, and the labours entailed by the great undertaking of writing the biography of Dr. Pusey, told heavily upon a physique never very robust. In the end of 1885, after some months of serious ill-health, Dr. Liddon was persuaded to take "the one long holiday he allowed himself in his life of serious work."[1] Acting under medical orders, he made a journey to Egypt and

[1] Preface to "Dr. Liddon's Tour in Egypt and Palestine," p. v.

Palestine, accompanied by his sister, Mrs. King, and her daughter. The story of the six months' tour is admirably told in a series of letters written by his sister. How sympathetic a companion she was is revealed, not only in the letters, but in the pathetic dedication to her of her brother's beautiful Sermons on the *Magnificat*, published in 1889: "To my dear sister, Annie Poole King, in the joyful conviction that as our days on earth are drawing towards their close, we are more and more united in heart and mind with respect to those things which are of lasting value."

EASTERN TOUR.

The tour brought Liddon into places and scenes full of the deepest interest. Egypt and its monuments revealed what was a constant theme of his teaching—that the real business of this life is a preparation for death. The sacred scenes and holy places in Palestine were of absorbing fascination to him; he spared himself neither trouble nor fatigue in investigating everything within his reach. He delighted in the interviews that he was able to have with Oriental ecclesiastics, Orthodox and Coptic; and had the joy of celebrating the Holy Eucharist in the Chapel of Abraham, within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The six months of travel did much to refresh him in body and mind. But they were not altogether free from serious anxieties. At the very beginning of the Eastern tour, he received the offer of the Deanery of Worcester, which he declined on the score of ill-health; just before he left Constantinople on his return home, the news of his election to the Bishopric of Edinburgh reached him.

DEANERY OF WORCESTER AND BISHOPRIC OF EDINBURGH.

This, after no little sorrow and regret, he declined, as he had done more than one previous offer, on the conscientious principle that the most important posts of the Church in Scotland should be held by Scotsmen. Many of his friends regretted this decision; they hoped that the bracing air of Scotland, and a change of work, which would have set him free from many anxieties and disappointments, might have prolonged his life. Certainly it might very well have been expected that his presence in St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, and the power of his sacred oratory, to say nothing of the force of his personal influence, would have brought immense strength to the Church in Scotland. But his decision was based upon a principle, and a similar refusal of the see of St. Alban's, in 1890, was doubtless grounded on equally conscientious motives. That Liddon should have received no offer of Episcopal preferment in earlier life, has been the subject of much regret and of some idle speculation. But that it was owing to some personal dislike on the part of a great Personage has been contradicted on the highest authority. But so it came to pass that he was to die as he had lived, not as the exalted Prelate and busy administrator, but in that office for which he had so splendid a vocation—the great preacher of the Catholic Faith. Thus he went back to carry on his work in London, with all its fatigues and strain, its self-sacrifices, its zealous efforts for the good of the Church and of separate souls, for a few years longer: and then to lay down his burden.

During the summer of 1890, Dr. Liddon had been far

from well, and gave his friends considerable anxiety, but his comparatively sudden death on September 9, at Weston-super-Mare, came with a surprise and shock to the world. The end was so little expected that a tour in Switzerland was being arranged for him. Surely it was not really sudden to him, who in his Bampton Lectures had said, "The expectation of a life after death enables us to see things in their true proportions," and who in his Advent Sermons has thus spoken of the solemnity of death:—"Surely, 'Prepare—prepare for death!' is the voice of prudence. The one certain thing about life is that we must leave it. The one certain thing about death is that we must die. What will happen first, we know not. How much time will pass before our hour comes, we know not. What will be the manner of our death, violence or disease, an accident or what we call natural causes, we know not. Where we shall die, at home, or on a visit, in our beds or in the street, or in a railway train, or in a sinking steamboat—this, too, we know not. Under what circumstances we shall die, in solitude or among friends, with the consolations of religion or without them, in spasms of agony or softly, as if we were going to sleep—we know not."[1]

SUDDEN DEPARTURE.

On September 16 his remains were laid to rest in the Crypt Chapel of the great Cathedral, where he so often proclaimed the truths of the Catholic Faith, with eager love for souls and fervent eloquence. Leading statesmen of both parties in the State, eminent laymen and clergy, servants from

THE FUNERAL.

[1] "Advent at St. Paul's," xxvii., p. 327.

Oxford, vergers and workmen of St. Paul's, Wantage Sisters, business men, Nonconformist ministers, together with a number of Bishops, among whom were naturally conspicuous the Bishops of Oxford and Lincoln, gathered round the grave, while the choir of St. Paul's sang—in addition to the usual funeral music—some of those Gregorian hymns in which he so much delighted.

A twofold memorial will keep his fame before the minds of future generations. First the beautiful monument in the great Cathedral, and next the scholarships at Oxford, founded in his name, for the training of candidates for Holy Orders in the careful and scientific study of theology. But his character and life will never be forgotten so long as English Churchmen gratefully recall the debt they owe to him in the noble band of Oxford theologians and preachers. Single-hearted, perfectly free from all vulgar craving for honour or preferment, courageous in proclaiming truth, the friend of the oppressed, generous in giving almost to lavishness, considerate and tender to lowly men and women, his example as well as his splendid gifts will be for ever linked with that great revival of the Church in England in which he played so noble a part, and which he has thus so graphically described :—

HIS PLACE IN THE MOVEMENT.

"Nearly forty years have now elapsed since a few of the purest and loftiest spirits that ever breathed the air of this place saw, in the suppression of some Irish sees, a warning to prepare for more serious emergencies. They, too, might have said that as private clergymen and teachers they might well let things take their course,

or leave the work of struggle and of protest to those who were set in the high places of the Church. But their insight into the future, such as it was, was their own, and they could not transfer to others the responsibility of possessing it. They knew that the real cause of the present disaster, and the most serious menace of future danger, lay not in any exceptional irreligion on the part of the State, but in the fact that Churchmen were, at best, half-hearted in professing their Creed. Samson's locks had been shorn, and who could wonder that the Philistines were upon him? If the Church of England was to be loved and worked for in the years to come, it must be by men who recognized in her something nobler than the plaything and creature of Parliament and statesmen, something more than one of many organizations designed to promote co-operation among believers in Christ. If she was not a branch of Christ's Body, her sacred language was a studied unreality; if her Sacraments were not channels of Divine Grace, were not their administrators like the heathen augurs of old, who could not but smile as they passed each other in the Forum? These men understood that a Church, to be upheld, must be believed in; but they would have failed, and deservedly, if they had endeavoured to reinvigorate a faith which they themselves held to be untrue. In their belief that, whatever came of it, they must go forward—in their simple sincerity—lay the secret of their strength. Out of the old materials which were ready to their hands, they set themselves to build an ark of fresh and strong convictions; they laboured by all avenues to public thought and feeling that they could command, to

persuade their contemporaries to mean the Creed which daily passed their lips, and to act upon it.

"It may be true that that Movement has been pushed to some unwarranted and lamentable consequences; that its original principles have been, in some cases, caricatured or perverted; that it has indirectly created some bewilderment and confusion. What is this but to say that its originators and conductors were human, and that they have enjoyed no guaranteed exemption from human liability to error? But look at it generally, and as a whole; look at it as its opponents, I venture to say, will look at it, when, in the clear daylight of history, it can be viewed without any disturbing rays of interviewing passion; and it will, it must, be said to have saved the Church of England from impending death either by spiritual hysteria or by spiritual atrophy. It has poured a tide of life—the life of earnest conviction and of earnest work—through all the arteries and veins of the Church of this land, and it is, year by year, adding to the spiritual force which alone can enable Christians to face the speculative or political anxieties of the future. He who exclaimed from Bagley, forty years ago, 'The flood is round thee, but thy towers as yet are safe,' at the sight of Oxford, foresaw clearly what was coming. And now that he is gone to his rest, it is not too much to say that he has done more, perhaps, than any in these last times to enable us of a younger generation to look forward to the rising flood, if not without fear on the score of our own possible disloyalty, yet certainly without misgiving as to the general and final issue of the Kingdom of Christ in England."[1]

[1] "Sermons preached on Special Occasions:" "Noah," p. 263.

RICHARD WILLIAM CHURCH

I.

"HIGH gifts are rare; brilliancy and strength and talent are rare; men of genius and great masters in thought and style are few, indeed, and far between. But rarer, perhaps, than all other rare and precious things is a character which wins its way to wide and significant recognition amid all the noise and throng of men, by the sheer force of its spiritual beauty. It is this peculiar rarity which belongs to the life of Richard William Church."[1]

This is the testimony of the writer of a leading article in the *Guardian*, that organ of the Anglican Church which Dean Church did so much to found, develop, and maintain in a high state of literary efficiency. It states in a concise form the true estimate of a very beautiful life and character of one, who was not only intimately connected with the great crisis of the Tractarian Movement, but carried on its best traditions, and commended them to men's minds by the literary beauty of his writings, no less than by the attractiveness of his personality.

His life may be said to have been cast into a singularly symmetrical form, and can be divided into four separate and almost equal periods: (1) His early life

[1] *The Guardian*, December 17, 1890.

until he went up to Oxford; (2) his University career; (3) his life at Whatley; (4) his rule at St. Paul's Cathedral.

EARLY LIFE.

He was born at Lisbon, April 25, 1815, of a family of Quaker origin, which had in later times rejoined the Church of England. His uncle, Richard, entered the army, and became a distinguished officer, and afterwards commander of the Greek armies in the War of Independence. Mr. John Dearman Church, father of Richard William Church, was a merchant of Lisbon, and in 1816, retiring from business on account of the serious state of his health, went to reside in Florence. For thirteen years, Richard Church lived abroad, sometimes at school at Leghorn, at other times in the south of Italy, visiting his uncle, who held at that time a military command in the Kingdom of Naples; but mainly with his parents at Florence. This early experience of foreign travel had a very important effect upon Church's character and tastes. It expanded his sympathies and emancipated him from the narrow insularity and prejudice which were more general among Englishmen of that time than is now the case. So early a contact with the beautiful scenery, language, and people of Italy, must largely have moulded his mind, and implanted in him that capacity for understanding the genius of the Italian people, which is so observable in works like the "Gifts of Civilization," or "Influences of Christianity on National Character," and, above all, his "Essay on Dante." He had plenty of boyish occupations, though of a different character from those enjoyed at English

ITALY.

schools, and took much pleasure in wandering about among the shipping in the harbours and ports of Italian cities.

SCHOOL LIFE.

The death of his father in 1828 brought his mother and her three children to England. Richard Church was sent to school at Exeter, but after a short time was transferred to Redlands, near Bristol, where he remained till 1833. Those were days of political ferment and excitement, and young Church saw many of the tokens of the great movements of the time, for while he was at school the great riots of October, 1831, occurred, when the Bishop's Palace and other public buildings were burnt by the mob. Though the standard of teaching he received was not very high, he appears to have worked hard, and laid the foundations of good scholarship and of studious habits. He was known as a reserved, industrious boy, and a great lover of books, and often spent his spare time in turning over old volumes at the second-hand bookshops in Bristol. The religious teaching at the school was of the so-called Evangelical type, and strong anti-Roman addresses formed a part of the instruction of the elder boys.

WADHAM COLLEGE.

With this kind of mental and religious preparation, Mr. Church went up to Wadham College, Oxford, in the never-to-be-forgotten year, 1833. His College was then, as it has continued to be regarded ever since, an Evangelical centre. But through the marriage of his mother to a connection of George Moberly, afterwards Headmaster of Winchester, and Bishop of Salisbury, and at that time Fellow and Tutor

of Balliol, he passed under different influences. He wrote of that time, "I shrank from the very pronounced Evangelical men; my friends were mostly men of no special colour . . . the only out-college man, of any mark, except Moberly, that I knew much of while I was at Wadham, was Charles Marriott."[1] From that time until his death he enjoyed the friendship of one "who, if any, deserved the title of Saint."

In 1835 he was brought into contact with Newman and Keble, to both of whom he had looked up for some time with "great interest and veneration." As to the latter, he had been warned in his early undergraduate days that "the Christian Year" was not quite sound about vital religion; but he was rapidly becoming emancipated from such narrow views. His first impressions of Newman's preaching led him to see how entirely his sermons were out of the beaten track. They gained so much power over him that he afterwards became a regular attendant at St. Mary's. A sermon entitled "Ventures of Faith," is recorded by him to have inspired him to make a special effort of self-denial, and was felt by him to have been the turning-point of his life. Of Newman's preaching he has left his recollection.[2] "As a tutor of Oriel, Mr. Newman had made what efforts he could, sometimes disturbing to the authorities, to raise the standard of conduct and feeling among his pupils. When he became a parish priest, his preaching took a singularly practical and plain-spoken character. The first sermon

NEWMAN'S INFLUENCE.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 13.

[2] "Oxford Movement," pp. 21 and 129.

of the series, a typical sermon, "Holiness necessary for future blessedness"—a sermon which has made many readers grave when they laid it down—was written in 1826, before he came to St. Mary's, and as he began he continued. No sermons, except those which his great opposite, Dr. Arnold, was preaching at Rugby, had appealed to conscience with such directness and force. A passionate and sustained earnestness after a high moral rule, seriously realized in conduct, is the dominant character of these sermons. They showed the strong reaction against slackness of fibre in the religious life; against the poverty, restlessness, worldliness, the blunted and impaired sense of truth, which reigned with little check in the recognized fashions of professing Christianity; the want of depth, both of thought and feeling; the strange blindness to the real sternness, nay the austerity, of the New Testament."

SERMONS AT ST. MARY'S.

"None but those who remember them can adequately estimate the effect of Mr. Newman's four-o'clock sermons at St. Mary's. The world knows them, has heard a great deal about them, has passed its various judgments on them. But it hardly realizes that without those sermons the Movement might never have gone on, certainly would never have been what it was. Even people who heard them continually, and felt them to be different from any other sermons, hardly estimated their real power, or knew at the time the influence which the sermons were having upon them. Plain, direct, unornamented, clothed in English that was only pure

[1] "Oxford Movement," p. 22.

and lucid, free from any faults of taste, strong in their flexibility and perfect command both of language and thought, they were the expression of a piercing and large insight into character and conscience and motives, of a sympathy at once most tender and most stern with the tempted and the wavering, of an absolute and burning faith in God and His councils, in His love, in His judgments, in the awful glory of His generosity and His magnificence. They made men think of the things which the preacher spoke of, and not of the sermon or the preacher." [1]

THE SCHOOLS.

He read hard for the schools, receiving considerable help from Moberly; but he relates with much modesty that his First Class was a great surprise to himself. There were only three other names in the same class with him. In the second appeared among others those of F. W. Faber, J. R. Cornish (afterwards Mowbray) and Gathorne Hardy.

For a year and a half after taking his degree he remained at Oxford taking pupils, and making a translation of St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechetical Lectures, under the editorship of Newman, as part of the "Library of the Fathers."

ORIEL FELLOWSHIP.

In April, 1838, he entered for the Oriel Fellowship. In a letter written in 1885 to Dr. Liddon he gives a very interesting, not to say amusing, description of the examination and all that preceded and followed it. Oriel men who were at college under Provost Hawkins will recognize the graphic touch of the following words: "They never advertised vacancies

[1] "Oxford Movement," pp. 129, 130.

in those days; the Provost held his head high, and said if persons wanted to know if there were any fellowships to be filled up they could come and inquire."[1] The Latin letter written to the Provost, the visits to the room of torture—"the Tower"—and the final introduction to the Provost in his stall at chapel, when the great man, "as if much surprised, asked you, *Domine quid petis*, to which you answered, *Peto beneficium hujusce Collegii in annum*," make up a vivid description of the whole event. Mark Pattison, afterwards Rector of Lincoln, was an unsuccessful candidate for the Oriel fellowship. It is a singular testimony to the attractiveness of Church's character and disposition that one so little given to say kind things of others should on this occasion have felt and spoken so warmly of Church. "I presume that Church was Newman's candidate, though so accomplished a scholar need not have required any party push. I have always looked upon Church as the type of the Oriel Fellow; Richard Michell said at the time of the election: 'There is such a moral beauty about Church, that they could not help taking him.'"[2]

Among the fellows and tutors of Oriel at that time were Fraser, Clough, Matthew Arnold, Grant and Burgon. The Common Room had not yet lost its fame for wit and learning, and Church found himself in an intellectual atmosphere much to his taste. Beyond the college walls he made ample use of all that the University could give of varied teaching in history, scholarship and theology. He attended lectures in botany, astronomy,

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 18.

[2] Quoted in "Life and Letters," p. 17.

and histology, and trained his versatile intellect in numerous directions. But it was in the region of religious thought that he was most profoundly influenced at this period of his life.

He was soon drawn into close intimacy with Newman and with other well-known men under his wonderful influence, among whom were Frederic Rogers, afterwards Lord Blachford, and James Mozley. From this time he was carried onward in the stream of the great Oxford Movement, in which he was called to play no mean part. He was ordained Deacon at Christmas, 1839, along with A. P. Stanley, with whom he always maintained pleasant relations; and, somewhat to his regret, was obliged to undertake a tutorship at Oriel. This interfered greatly with his quiet reading, and was not very congenial to his tastes. However, he spent his long vacations partially in foreign travel, but more often in his rooms at Oriel; it was during this period that under the influence of Newman and Marriott, he learned to realize the true Catholic position of the Church of England. The narrowness of his early religious training quietly dropped off, and he laid the foundations of that strong Churchmanship, which, without being narrowly ecclesiastical or pedantically mediæval, never swerved under the stress of religious panic or popular dislike, from its deeply laid Catholic foundation.

ORDINATION.

In February, 1841, Newman brought out No. 90 of the Tracts for the Times, and from that date to 1845, Church had to stand by his friend through an almost ceaseless storm of controversy.

TRACT XC.

Church, in a letter to Frederick Rogers written on the 14th of March, 1841, describes the circumstances that immediately preceded and followed the publication of the Tract.[1] There had been attacks on the Tractarians in many of the newspapers, especially the Conservative press. The *Times* had rather defended the Oxford School; but the appearance of the Tract and the letter signed by the four tutors, aroused popular feeling to an almost incredible extent. Church describes the excitement in London, and relates that 2500 copies were sold in less than a fortnight. Church—knowing the attitude taken by his Provost towards the Tracts and their writers—thought it his duty to resign his tutorship, on account of his intimacy with Newman, and his own strong sympathies with the general principles of the Tract; and he knew also that Keble had written to the Vice-Chancellor to the same effect. But he still retained office in his college, and in the following year became Treasurer, and gave a very amusing account of the audit, and the Provost's love for starting small perplexities and difficulties.

II.

And now began the latter days of the first great epoch of the Oxford revival. Dean Church has described, in his "History of the Oxford Movement," three great events that took place in 1842 and 1843, which he calls the three defeats. The first was the

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 27.

failure of Mr. Isaac Williams in the contest for the Professorship of Poetry; he was identified with the Tractarian party, and the so-called Liberals and Evangelicals united against him. The second was the hindrances raised to the granting of the degree of B.D. to Mr. Macmullin, and the third was the suspension of Dr. Pusey for his celebrated sermon on the Holy Eucharist, and the unhappy condition of the University at this time is thus clearly described by him: CONTROVERSY.

"If the men who ruled the University had wished to disgust and alienate the Masters of Arts, and especially the younger ones who were coming forward into power and influence, they could not have done better. The chronic jealousy and distrust of the time were deepened. And all this was aggravated by what went on in private. A system of espionage, whisperings, back-bitings, and miserable tittle-tattle, sometimes of the most slanderous or the most ridiculous kind, was set going all over Oxford. Never in Oxford, before or since, were busybodies more turbulent or more unscrupulous. Difficulties arose between heads of colleges and their tutors. Candidates for fellowships were closely examined as to their opinions and their associates. Men applying for testimonials were cross-questioned on No. 90 as to the infallibility of general councils, purgatory, the worship of images, the *Ora pro nobis*, and the intercession of the Saints; the real critical questions upon which men's minds were working being absolutely uncomprehended and ignored. It was a miserable state of misunderstanding and distrust, and none of the University leaders had the temper

and manliness to endeavour with justice and knowledge to get to the bottom of it. It was enough to suppose that a Popish conspiracy was being carried on."[1]

These suspicions touched Church himself, and caused some anxiety to his friends. So much so that he felt it necessary to write to assure his mother. He begged her "earnestly not to suspect me. . . . I believe myself in no danger. . . . I never felt a temptation to move. . . . We must be content to live, and perhaps die, suspected."[2]

JUNIOR PROCTOR.

In April, 1844, he was elected to serve as Proctor along with Mr. Guillemard of Trinity, and he has recorded, in a humorous letter to his mother, some of his experiences of police supervision and inspection. But his duties were not to end there, for his term of office was destined to be a very stormy one. First of all, there was the attempt of the Tractarians to challenge the nomination of Dr. Symons to the Vice-Chancellorship, with the result that they were defeated disastrously by a majority of 883 to 183. But this was only a kind of preparatory skirmish to the much more serious event of the determination to degrade Mr. Ward from his degree, as well as to condemn his book, together with the institution of a new test for compelling members of the University to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles "in the sense in which they were both first published and now imposed." This latter proposition was withdrawn, and in its place

[1] "Oxford Movement," pp. 334, 335.

[2] "Life and Letters," p. 46.

an attempt was made to secure a condemnation of Tract 90.

How some of the younger clergy of the day felt about the proposed condemnation may be gathered from the following letter of the Rev. W. H. Burrows, of Christ Church, Albany Street, and afterwards Canon of Rochester: "For both these reasons, I shall oppose the condemnation of No. 90, should it be brought forward; not because I admire the way in which it deals with the Articles, sympathizing so little with them, and glad to make them mean as little as they can, but because I think men holding such opinions may certainly be borne with as Fellows of Colleges and parish priests, if not as college tutors or professors of the University; and we have allowed so many errors to be uncondemned, some imperilling the Creed, some denying cardinal Church doctrines, such as Regeneration in Baptism, that I dislike the uncatholic appearance of being more tenacious of our differences with Rome, than of our common truths; and I cannot like such a body as Convocation taking in hand such matters."[1]

THE VETO.

In the short interval of ten days, leading men at London and Oxford, including Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Stanley, and Mr. Jowett, expressed their opinion that the joint veto of the proctors should be employed to prevent this measure being carried; and it is believed that it was the steadfast purpose and courage of the Junior Proctor that made it certain that the right would be actually exercised. On February 13, amidst snow and sleet, Oxford was crowded

[1] "Life of W. H. Burrows," p. 114.

with throngs of undergraduates and members of Convocation, gathered from all parts of England. The scene in the Sheldonian Theatre was most exciting. Ward was allowed to make his speech in English amid cheers and groans. The first proposal was carried by 777 to 386; the second by a far more equal division of 569 to 511. But when the third, involving the censure of Tract 90, was proposed by the Vice-Chancellor, the two proctors rose, and the senior, Guillemard, pronounced the veto, "Nobis Procuratoribus non placet," with, as James Mozley writes, "immense effect. A shout of 'Non' was raised, and resounded through the whole buildings, and 'Placets' from the other side, over which Guillemard's 'Nobis Procuratoribus non placet' was heard like a trumpet, and cheered enormously."[1] Church has recorded the effect of this vote: "Such a step, of course, only suspended the vote, and the year of office of these proctors was nearly run. But they had expressed the feeling of those whom they represented. It was shown not only in a largely signed address of thanks—all attempts to revive the decree at the expiration of their year of office failed. The wiser heads in the Hebdomadal Board recognized at last that they had better hold their hand. Mistakes men may commit, and defeats they may undergo, and yet lose nothing that concerns their character for acting as men of a high standard ought to act. But, in this case, mistakes and defeat were the least of what the Board brought on themselves. This was the last act of a long and deliberately pursued course of action; and, if it was

[1] "Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley," p. 165.

the last, it was because it was the upshot and climax: neither the University nor any one else would endure that it should go on any longer. The proposed attack on Mr. Newman betrayed how helpless they were, and to what paltry acts of worrying it was in their judgment right and judicious to condescend. It gave a measure to their statesmanship, wisdom and good feeling in defending the interests of the Church, and it made a very deep and lasting impression on all who were interested in the honour and welfare of Oxford." [1]

Of his own part in the exercise of the Proctorial veto, he wrote to his mother: "The only thing to relieve the day has been the extreme satisfaction I had in helping to veto the third iniquitous measure against Newman. It was worth while being Proctor to have the unmixed pleasure of doing this." [2]

NEWMAN'S SECESSION.

After the long vacation of this year, Church had the inexpressible sorrow of hearing that Newman had joined the Church of Rome. What this was to him no one will ever know, for he was remarkably reticent on all matters of the kind. His friendship with Newman had been very close, and highly valued by the latter. In April, 1845, he wrote: "I don't like you to go out of office without my thanks for your kindness to me last February 13;" [3] and in 1871, when dedicating a new edition of his "University Sermons," spoke of Church as one of those "dear friends resident in Oxford . . . who did so much to comfort

[1] "Oxford Movement," pp. 381, 382.
[2] "Life and Letters, p. 57.
[3] "Letters of Newman," vol. ii., p. 466.

and uphold me by their patient, tender kindness, and their zealous service on my behalf," and he makes special allusion to the exercise of the Proctorial veto by Church. The secession of Newman was not merely a sharp personal grief to Church, but it brought with it all the pain of feeling that multitudes would point to it as the confirmation of their prophecies, and the condemnation of the whole Movement. To Church, the departure of Newman from the Anglican Communion, preceded and followed by that of many earnest and even eminent men, was an appalling disaster, and is described by him as "the catastrophe" of the Movement. But he was never one to yield to despair. He was sanguine enough to believe that the cause of the English Church and of the Movement, as a whole, was not by any means lost.

STATE OF THE PARTY.

The state of feeling which existed in the hearts of those who, like James Mozley and Church, remained hopeful and steadfast, is best described in the words of the latter: "The feeling which had often stirred, even when things looked at the worst, that Mr. Newman had dealt unequally and hardly with the English Church, returned with gathered strength. The English Church was, after all, as well worth living in and fighting for as any other; it was not only in England that light and dark in teaching and life were largely intermingled, and the mixture had to be largely allowed for. We had our Sparta, a noble, if a rough and incomplete one; patiently to do our best for it was better than leaving it to its fate, in obedience to signs and reasonings, which the heat of strife might well make delusive. It was one hopeful token, that boasting

had to be put away from us for a long time to come. In these days of stress and sorrow were laid the beginnings of a school whose main purpose was to see things as they are; which had learned by experience to distrust unqualified admiration and unqualified disparagement; and determined not to be blinded even by genius to plain certainties; not afraid to honour all that is great and beneficent in Rome; not afraid, with English frankness, to criticize freely at home; but not to be won over, in one case, by the good things, to condone and accept the bad things; and not deterred, in the other, from service, from love, from self-sacrifice, by the presence of much to regret and to resist. . . . 'A new stage has begun; let no one complain'—this, the expression of individual feeling, represents pretty accurately the temper into which the Church party settled when the first shock was over. They knew that, henceforward, they had difficult times before them. They knew that they must work under suspicion, even under proscription. They knew that they must expect to see men among themselves perplexed, unsettled, swept away by the influences which had affected Mr. Newman, and still more by the precedent of his example. They knew that they must be prepared to lose friends and fellow-helpers, and to lose them sometimes unexpectedly and suddenly, as the wont was so often at this time. Above all, they knew that they had a new form of antagonism to reckon with, harder than any they had yet encountered. It had the peculiar sad bitterness which belongs to civil war, when men's foes are they of their own households—the bitterness arising

out of interrupted intimacy and affection. Neither side could be held blameless; the charge from the one of betrayal and desertion, was answered by the charge from the other of insincerity and faithlessness to conscience, and by natural, but not always fair attempts to proselytize; and undoubtedly, the English Church, and those who had adhered to it, had for some years after 1845, to hear from the lips of old friends the most cruel and merciless invectives which knowledge of her weak points, wit, argumentative power, eloquence, and the triumphant exultation at once of deliverance and superiority, could frame."[1]

"THE GUARDIAN."

One token that the Oxford Movement, though shattered at least for a time, and so far as the University was concerned, no longer powerful in Oxford, was not by any means dead, was shown in the foundation of the *Guardian* newspaper. Its first number appeared in January, 1846, on the same day as the first issue of the *Daily News*. Church was associated with the origin of what has since become the most important and powerful organ of the High Church party, and, indeed, the most adequately representative newspaper of the whole Anglican Communion. Among its first principal contributors were Frederick Rogers, James Mozley, Thomas Haddan, Montague Bernard. Church's share in the work was mainly in the writing of reviews, some of which largely helped in gaining consideration for the new venture, and attracted notice by the beautiful style for which the writer has become so deservedly famous.

[1] "Oxford Movement," pp. 402–405.

It is interesting to note that many years afterwards, in 1881, Church records "Gladstone's enthusiastic eulogy of the *Guardian*." "It was," he said, "by far the best weekly account of news to be found in selection and arrangement; it was this point that he dwelt upon: a person reading it, could, except for immediate use, dispense with the reading of the daily papers; the news part of it was quite admirable." [1]

III.

FOREIGN TRAVEL.

The greater part of the following year was spent by Church abroad, in Greece and Italy, and particularly at Athens, where he visited his uncle, General Church. The Greek scenery and the historic associations are described by him in letters written to friends and relations. The Acropolis, the Piræus, Marathon, and a hundred other classic scenes drew out all his love for the Greek people and their history. Homer, Herodotus and Thucydides were constantly on his lips, and when he reached Constantinople, he "wished for a Gibbon twenty times a day." His foreign tour ended with a stay in Florence, in company with his brother, a place they had not visited since their father's death in 1828. This time spent on the Continent was turned to good account in the gathering of much material, afterwards used in essays and articles on Italian and French politics, and it is related that his copy of Dante, which had been laid on the poet's tomb at Ravenna, is filled with notes bearing witness to his

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 291.

observations of places and associations during these months abroad.

DANTE.

The immediate literary fruit of this study of the great Italian poet was his well-known Essay on Dante, which was published in the *Christian Remembrancer* in 1850, and has become quite a standard work. It was reprinted in his volume called "Essays and Reviews" in 1854, and republished in 1878, together with a translation of the *De Monarchia* by his son. He himself said that those who know the *Divina Commedia* best will best know how hard it is to be the interpreter of such a mind. It was "a novel and startling apparition in literature," [1] abnormal, obscure in phrase, obscure in purpose; yet it not only repels by its strange incongruity, but attracts by its marks of genius as mighty as it is strange. Church was remarkably well qualified to write on such a poem; Italy, its history, its politics, its scenery, its cities, had been familiar to him from his earliest days. Its language, which the great poet increasingly loved and valued in spite of his own veneration for Latin, was familiar to Church from his boyhood. Of Dante he said, "He honoured the Latin, but his love was for the Italian; he was its champion and indignant defender against the depreciation of ignorance and fashion." [2] Church showed how Dante was "the restorer of seriousness in literature." [3] He was also a true son of the Church, not sparing the vices of the Church's rulers, but holding fast to the Divine mission and spiritual powers of Holy Church. The discipline, the prayers, the melodies, the ritual, the

[1] "Dante," p. 56. [2] Ibid., p. 115. [3] Ibid., p. 119.

hours of devotion, the Sacraments of the Church, mould the form of much of his great poem. He rises above the mere popular estimate of Saints, and recognizes the great men of all times; Justinian, Constantine, Charlemagne, as well as Augustine, Bernard, Aquinas and Bonaventure. He realized that the good heathen, like Cato, Virgil, Trajan, had a real guide and light from above. "Dante's all surveying, all embracing mind, was worthy to open the grand procession of modern poets." [1] Church has noted the poet's beautiful allusions to the hours of day and night, the sinking of the sun, the flaming sunset, the sheet-lightning of summer, the stars coming out one by one, the fire-flies of the Italian summer night; the scented freshness of the breeze before day-break, the chill before early morning, the dawn stealing on, the blue gradually gathering in the east, the distant sea-beach quivering in the early light. "Light in general is his special and chosen source of poetic beauty . . . he must have studied and dwelt upon it like music." [2] There are fearful images and pictures in the Inferno, but they are drawn to make men shudder and shrink at the awfulness of human sin. Dante's own character and life are admirably depicted, and the connection between his own trials and his poem is noted. "It is the work of a wanderer; the very form in which it is cast is that of a journey, difficult, perilous, toilsome and full of change . . . it belongs in its date and its greatness, to the time when sorrow had become the poet's daily portion and the condition of his daily life." [3] Church has described in language that almost

[1] "Dante," p. 131. [2] Ibid., p. 152. [3] Ibid., p. 48.

expresses his own ideas of the relation of the Church to the State, Dante's hopes of a future Christian Government for Italy. "In his philosophy, the institutions which provide for man's peace and liberty in this life are part of God's great order for raising men to perfection; not indispensable, yet ordinary parts, having their important place, though but for the present time; and, though imperfect, real instruments of His moral government. He could not believe it to be the intention of Providence, that on the introduction of higher hopes and the foundation of a higher society, civil society should collapse and be left to ruin, as henceforth useless or prejudicial in man's trial and training; that the significant intimations of nature, that law and its results, justice, peace and stability, ought to be and might be realized among men, had lost their meaning and faded away before the announcement of a Kingdom not of this world. And if the perfection of civil society had not been superseded by the Church, it had become clear, if events were to be read as signs, that she was not intended to supply its political offices and functions. She had taught, elevated, solaced, blessed, not only individual souls, but society; she had for a time even governed it; but, though her other powers remained, she could govern it no longer. Another and distinct organization was required for this, unless the temporal order was no longer worthy of the attention of Christians." [1]

It is not difficult to understand that with such thoughts as these in his mind, Church should have

[1] "Dante," p. 89.

written at the same time that very important article on "Church and State" which also made its appearance in the same publication. The effect of this admirable statement of the true relation of the Church of England to the Royal Supremacy was to quiet many minds which had been grievously disturbed by the Gorham judgment delivered in the same year. CHURCH AND STATE.

Among these was his friend James B. Mozley, who wrote: "Church's article is very good, and will, I hope, have the effect of quieting some minds who think so fearfully of our Reformation Erastianism. It had the effect upon me as if one whole side of the truth, which had been completely suppressed throughout this controversy, and all the controversy of the last twenty years, had now fairly come out. Of course, we shall displease our ultra friends who are eager for a convulsion. I confess I am not. Nor do I see anything, in the temper of those who are, which attracts me."[1]

Its main purpose was to claim for the Church ecclesiastical freedom, and for the unhampered spiritual liberty of an English National Synod. At the same time it clearly pointed out that in many parts of Europe the sovereign had exercised very considerable powers in connection with the discipline, worship, and doctrine of the Church. Justinian in the Eastern Empire, and Charlemagne in the revived Western Empire, each with the consent and even approval of the Church, took an active part in the definitions of doctrine, in the regulation of worship, and maintenance of discipline. The minute rules concerning clerical life and duties, the

[1] "Letters of Rev. J. B. Mozley," p. 203.

abolition of Gallican liturgies in favour of the Roman rite, the maintenance of the Western type of the so-called Creed of Constantinople, are measures quite as strong in their way as any of those carried out by Tudor or Stuart sovereigns. Later French and English kings, before the great upheaval of the sixteenth century, did not shrink from at least a visitatorial power in their own realms. Church pointed out that the great difficulty of the present day was the changed condition of the royal prerogative, not only in England, but in other countries as well, and he strongly urged that it would be very unjust to interpret the Royal Supremacy as meaning a recognition of the sole and supreme authority of Parliament in the legislation of the Church. The Church in olden times had to deal with a personal sovereign, and one, moreover, who recognized and respected the spiritual authority of the Church. He believed, however, that the autonomy of the Church, fairly stated, would commend itself to the conscience of the nation. Disestablishment to him was by no means a desirable solution of the difficulty. "If it comes," he said, "we may turn it to account, as it has been turned to account abroad. But, before it came, the Church abroad shrank from no sacrifice which she could consider lawful to avert it; she well knew what she would lose by it, whatever might be its compensations. And, surely, the Church here would be inexcusable if she courted it, or needlessly let it come to pass. This great nation of Englishmen is committed to her trust; if she cannot influence them, what other body has a more reasonable hope? If they will break

away from her or cast her off, let it be clearly their fault, not hers and that of her clergy."[1]

Church never saw any reason to change or modify the general principles contained in this essay, for he republished it without alterations more than thirty years afterwards, and a recent reprint of it may serve to show that it may have a permanent value in settling the still unsolved problem of how to maintain the union between Church and State without the sacrifice of Catholic principles or the denial of the just rights of the civil Government.

That he never retreated from this position is proved by the fact that, many years later, in 1881–83, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and Dean Church was called upon to supply information. He contributed a very important paper, entitled "Notes on the Constitutional System of the Gallican Church," and traced in outline the history of the relations between the Crown, the Pope, and the Church. He gave a full account of the appeals allowed, and illustrated it from events and precedents, carrying the history right down to the concordat of 1801 between Napoleon and the Pope. He also appeared as a witness, and was examined at considerable length. Perhaps the substance of his evidence may be best given in a paper which he read and put in at the close of his examination: "Points important to be attended to—(1) Arrest the tendency, which is comparatively a new one, to govern the Church by case-made law. Guard

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS COMMISSION.

[1] *Christian Remembrancer*, April, 1850, lxviii. p. 516.

against absorbing it by legislation, such as that which created the present Arches Court into a department of the State. I find this sentence quoted from a German book (Rothe, 'Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche,' quoted by Mr. Gladstone, 'The Theses of Erastus,' III, p. 22). "The Church is destined, according to the law of nature and of Providence, to be absorbed in the State." That, I believe, is the opinion of a considerable number of people in the present day; and that, I think, we have to guard against. Then (2) restore to the Church, as required by the changes of time, the reasonable and just power of dealing with her worship, subject to the cognizance and check of the State. (3) Discountenance the spirit of persecution, for which all parties have suffered, and for which all parties are to blame, but most those who make special boast of tolerance; and give to the different parties in the Church what each can fairly claim on the ground of documents and formularies. Lastly, I venture to put this: Remember that behind all these questions is the Roman controversy, and that one of the most telling allegations on the Roman side is that the English Church is the creature of the State, so tied and bound that it cannot settle so small a matter as its ritual, or so great a question as its doctrine, except by a State or lay court."[1]

Church's opinions and judgment had by this time reached a mature form, and his life at Oxford, which was soon to come to an end, had greatly enriched "and deepened his life." "Oxford has been a glorious

[1] "Report of the Commissioners on the Constitution and Working of the Ecclesiastical Courts," vol. ii., p. 353.

place for me," he wrote. In those eighteen years he had had great anxieties as well as great happiness. The great sorrow of Newman's secession, quickly followed by the domestic grief of his mother's death, were not without their lasting effects upon his character. He passed, as it were, through a fire which purified and braced him. Henceforth he "called no man master." He learned more and more to form his judgment independently, except in entire trust in Divine guidance. Healing and softening influences in his engagement to Miss Bennett, niece of Dr. Moberly, and in restored friendship with the Provost of Oriel, were soon to follow; but even these did not prevent his departure from Oxford being felt as a serious trial.

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHARACTER.

It is impossible not to gather that the general subject of that beautiful series of sermons entitled "The Discipline of the Christian Character," dedicated to Lord Blachford, "in remembrance of a long friendship," contains the experience, conscious or unconscious, of much that he passed through in the eighteen Oxford years. These sermons unfold the various stages of the development of the Christian character—the recognition by the soul of its separate responsibility as it is revealed in the story of Abraham. This is the first awakening to the reality of religion, which he illustrates by a quotation from Newman's Sermons, vol. i., p. 23: "God is God, and I am I; and we begin by degrees, as it has been said, to perceive that there are but two beings in the whole universe, two only supreme and self-evident luminous beings,—our own soul, and the God Who made it."

In the second sermon, the next important element in the development of the Christian character is shown to be the moral law; without obedience to the Divine Command, and to the certainties of duty, great religious characters have been spoilt, and great religious efforts marred. "Let us not fall," he said, "into the deadly self-deceit that, because we are religious in wish, in feeling, we are dispensed from the obligations and restrictions which we see bind others; because we are, as we think, 'good people;' because we have the feeling of being in the right way; because God, it may be, has greatly favoured us, we may venture on what conscience persists in warning us is unlawful, is wrong. Let us not think that because we frequent Sacraments and delight in Divine Service, and feel devotion and uplifting of heart in prayer, we need not fear the temptations which are 'common to man;' that we can afford to indulge our dislike of trouble, or relax our care and vigilance, or neglect plain duties, or can be bold in things more dangerous still. Not the stern and vigorous Law only, but the New Testament, puts this danger before us. It has some dreadful foreshadowings of self-deceit, dreaming of its innocence, and exposed too late. Even good people like to do what their hearts prompt them to, and shut their eyes to the question of right or wrong; and this is the answer that may one day meet them, when they ask whether they have not been devoted to the service and household of Christ—'I never knew you.'"[1]

To the severe ethical schooling of the Law there

[1] "The Discipline of the Christian Character," pp. 48–50.

follows the devotional education of the Psalms, and the training of the imagination and thoughts in the vast and diversified domain of prophecy. In the third sermon this subject was thus dealt with : "The Psalms are to many of us our daily companions. Week after week, and month after month, they are the universal language of worship in the whole Christian Church ; and if anything is certain in the world, it is that they will still be found the language of worship when He comes again. The Prophets still teach, inspire, rebuke us. Nothing in the whole range of poetry, nothing in Greek or Italian art, equals to English minds and feelings the wondrous beauty of those passages of Isaiah, which take soul and ear with their inexplicable charm of thought and melody ; which surprise us in hours of joy and trouble and hope, with new and unthought-of force of meaning, which haunt our memories with their undying music. And through all this long and varied schooling—varied in degree and in method, which we trace from Abraham to the Prophets, there is one thing always growing in depth and strength and purity—the passion for righteousness, the hatred of iniquity." [1]

In the fourth sermon, he showed how the perfect standard and ideal of religious character was manifested in Jesus Christ. All the rest had been leading up to this ; and the realization of this character in the followers of Christ is the one thing wanted in every age of the world's history. "My brethren," he said, "be of those who have done something to raise the standard of righteousness in the world. Some of you may have

[1] "The Discipline of the Christian Character," pp. 77, 78.

noticed the saying, quoted the other day, of a keen observer, who was not a believer: 'The advance of society'—he might have said, the 'advance of the Kingdom of God'—'depends on the constant exertions of the good man; when he abandons these exertions, it drops back like lead.' Do we not need, in these perilous times—of which the splendour, and power, and bewildered moral and religious thought remind us, at moments, of the closing days of the Roman Empire—do we not need to clear our confused fancies, to readjust our standard, to retemper our slack souls, to refresh our hopes, by setting before us the health and directness and simplicity of the religious character, shown in the New Testament." [1]

In the last sermon he enlarged upon the imitation of Jesus Christ, as having been the great power in the world, since the times of Apostles and Martyrs, down through all the ages. The character of Christ reflected "in all variations of thought and manners, in all sorts and conditions of men, from the king on his throne, an Alfred and St. Louis, statesmen, soldiers, merchants, students of nature or science, down to the lowly maid-servant or labourer, whose humble and Christlike goodness amid pain and sickness so touched and wrought on men round them, that the popular love and reverence canonized them and raised them into the guardian saints of their cities." [2] And he illustrated this leading idea of the closing sermon of so beautiful a series, with words from Thomas à Kempis and Bishop Wilson, and

[1] "The Discipline of the Christian Character," pp. 108, 109.

[2] Ibid., 123, 124.

the following last sentences of his own:—"The serious love of the unseen Christ, a great sentiment, and the highest of all affections raised to the power of a master principle of life, has not yet died out. It still wields its power over the wills of men. By God's mercy, God be thanked, it has yet great things to do. It has asked, and received the sacrifice of richly-equipped and noble lives; it still asks and receives the sacrifice of lives that might have been spent amid all that modern life can most innocently give, to the hard and distasteful tasks for which modern life so urgently calls; it may be that last great sacrifice that man can offer—'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.' This—this charity that never shall fail—this is the finish and crown of the religious character as it was new-created in Christ, as it can be on earth. This, while we are here in the flesh, is to have the 'mind of Christ.'"[1]

IV.

Towards the close of 1852, Church was offered the living of Whatley, near Frome, in Somerset, a parish of three hundred inhabitants, ten miles away from a railway station. The church, with its pointed spire, stands high above a deep and wooded valley in a pretty undulating country. He was ordained Priest in Advent, and went to reside immediately afterwards. His marriage took place in the following July.

MARRIAGE.

[1] "The Discipline of the Christian Character," pp. 138, 139.

Here in a quiet rural village, far removed from any great centre, the cultured Oxford scholar found himself in the midst of rustics unaccustomed to strangers, and without any experience of the advantages of a resident incumbent and his family, for the previous Rector had for many years been non-resident. The church was of the ordinary type of those days, with its gallery full of school children, its decorations only to be seen at Christmas in the form of sprigs of holly stuck about the pews. Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms, and the few Hymns usually printed at the end of the Prayer-book, formed the only hymnary. The Holy Communion had only been celebrated quarterly, and at Christmas and Easter. There was, indeed, apparently nothing to make up for the loss of friends and interests which he had left behind him at Oxford. "The weather is very fine," he wrote, "and the country looking very pretty; but it does not reconcile me to my transplanting; I think all day long of Shotover and the bowls at the Observatory, and my den, cold and dirty as it was, at Oriel." [1]

WHATLEY.

But so loving a character, and so earnest a servant of his Master, did not long allow these uncongenial surroundings to stand in the way of his fulfilling his duty to his flock. He spent much time with the children in the Week-day, Sunday and Night Schools; and, not content with taking part in the ordinary religious instruction, he instituted amusements for both boys and girls, and brought to bear his knowledge of botany in interesting them in the wild flowers

PAROCHIAL WORK.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 138.

of the neighbourhood. He entered into the daily life of the people, their work and their gardens, and, as has been said by one who knew him, "they felt that he was interested even in their pigs." He soon knew them all—their faces, their names, their dispositions. His influence among the rough lads and men resulted in a great improvement in manners. He could be very tender in the sick room, where he often sat for hours watching with the dying; but he could also be very stern when occasion required, as Dean Paget has said: "But patient as he was, he could be angry when need came; angry with a quiet and self-possessed intensity, which made his anger very memorable. The sight of injustice, of strength or wealth presuming on its advantages, of insolence—a word that came from his lips with a peculiar ring and emphasis—called out in him something like the passion that has made men patriots when their people were oppressed, something of that temper which will always make tyranny insecure, and persecution hazardous." [1]

RESTORATIONS.

Mr. Church effected many material improvements at Whatley. The vicarage, which was prettily situated, and had a northern aspect, was completely altered in order that the sitting-rooms might have the advantage of that sunshine which was so dear to one born in Italy. He planted in the grounds slips of cypress brought from Michael Angelo's garden; built a conservatory, and took great pains with his flowers. During his incumbency the church was entirely restored; a new chancel was built in 1858

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 21.

under Mr. Street, the architect, and the rest of the church renovated in 1870. With characteristic pathos he expressed in a letter his regret "that we were taking leave of the church as it is, and has been since I have been here; and the last meeting, even with the horrid old pews which we have been accustomed to so long, has something touching in it. 'On ne se détache jamais sans douleur,' Pascal says, even from the church decorations of old William Shore!"[1]

WORSHIP.

But what struck people more than the external improvements that he carried out, was the reverence of his ministrations and the earnestness of his preaching. One who lived for years at Whatley has recorded the impression made by his manner of celebrating the Holy Eucharist. "The first thing that impressed us all was the extreme solemnity and devotion with which Mr. Church celebrated the Holy Communion. We had heard nothing there about the Eastward Position; but I can see now his slight figure, bent in lowly reverence before the altar, giving the whole service a new and higher and holier meaning by his bearing and entire absorption in the act of worship."[2]

VILLAGE SERMONS.

Of his preaching at this time, it is not difficult to judge of the matter and method, from the volumes of his village sermons, which have been published. It has been said of them, "The thinking is clear as crystal, and the language simplicity itself." They embrace a large range of subjects, including the great doctrines linked with Advent, Lent, Easter, and the other great festivals. The person, the

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 193. [2] Ibid., p. 141.

mind, and the character of Christ are constantly dealt with. But they are wonderfully practical, and must have been easily understood by the country-folk who heard them. Christ's never-failing sympathy is thus spoken of in a sermon on the Marriage at Cana: "He will be with us not only in church and in prayer, not only in times of trouble and visitation, when we need Him to help us, but in times of rejoicing and holiday, to make our joy greater and our holiday brighter. He is ready to be with us on those great days which are the white days of our life, and which we keep in remembrance all our days after—a marriage, a christening, a first sight and visit in some new place which fills us with wonder and gladness, a meeting with an old friend long out of sight, a pleasant company, a happy day of pleasuring, an unexpected piece of good fortune." Very simple but profitable are the following words on the never-failing providence of God: "We know not what God may choose to take from us; what light in our sky He may darken or put out; what power in our souls He may cloud over or withdraw. We know not what a day may bring forth. But what we do know is that in it all and with it all there comes to those who put their trust in God, a Hand which wisely and strongly orders all things; there comes the Providence which beholds all things from end to end; there is present the same protection of that everlasting Goodness which has never failed those that hope in Him, which is able, through all appearance of loss and overthrow and perishing, to save to the uttermost what is committed to His charge." [1]

[1] "Village Sermons" (Second Series), i., p. 42.

Of the duty of coming to the Lord's Table, and not letting the convenient season pass by, the following impressive words speak for themselves: "It must be in yourself that the change must be. It must be you yourself, and not outward things, sickness or calls or impressions from others, which is to make the step and fulfil the duty. It is you who must make the opportunity, not wait for it; or rather, I will say that God will most surely give you the opportunity, but you must seize it for yourself. You must make the convenient season, and make that convenient which is the only season you can make sure of—the present; and be sure that there is no truer word in the world than this, that he who waits for the convenient season in matters of duty will never find it." [1]

Nothing could be easier to grasp than the following words on the great importance of the Holy Eucharist: "As the sacrifice and death of Christ is the greatest, if we may so speak, among Christian truths, so the Sacrament of the Lord's death is the greatest among Christian ordinances. And the reason of the greatness of the Sacrament is the greatness of the truth from which it flows, of which it is the witness and pledge, with which it is joined in all our thoughts of it, in the blessings which we hope for in it. Because we hope in the death of Christ we are drawn to remember it in the Sacrament. Because the love of Christ crucified is the salvation of the world, we thankfully embrace that which is on earth its never-changing token." [2]

[1] "Village Sermons" (First Series), p. 241.

[2] Ibid. (Second Series), p. 112.

Two more quotations seem to include some personal experience of the preacher. "Never does this state of trial come to an end. The particular trial and temptation may, but not the state of trial itself. One trial is overcome and disappears, but another comes at once into its place, to challenge us again to show our heart, our courage, our faith. For we have lost our title to rest and ease; it is a blessing that we have the chance given us here to regain, for a day which is yet to come. When we have borne the heavy blow, which has perhaps taken from us one whom we loved, then comes the long course of daily life, in which we have to learn to do without our best and wisest adviser, our most faithful stay. When Christ had overcome the devil in the wilderness, then came, one after another, the temptations of every day, from the thankless or selfish or the malicious men around Him."[1]

"So rest and trust. Rest and be calm. Rest and look back and take account of what is gone; and give thyself time to feel and measure better the love wherewith God has loved thee, and the bonds and ties which ought to fasten thy heart to Him. Rest and wait. If He send thee comfort, wait and thank Him; if it be not His pleasure to take away the clouds, or if He exercise thee with pain, yet abide His will and wait. Wait His will, wait what He may yet have to show thee. Wait His time, now especially that the long round of time and opportunities and chances is well-nigh run through and thou canst no longer make time, make opportunities as once it used to be possible. Wait, for He is

[1] "Village Sermons" (Third Series), p. 228.

pleased with waiting when men wait patiently and humbly."[1]

CLERICAL MEETINGS.

He was a very acceptable member of the local clerical society. He rarely took part in verbal discussions at the meetings, but if any friend, after they were over, could catch him, he would open out his mind and give his judgment on the subjects considered in a very interesting and instructive manner. Occasionally he was persuaded to read papers on one of the Fathers, as for instance, St. Jerome, and those who recollect them regret that they have not been published, if indeed they have been preserved.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Much of his leisure at Whatley was occupied with correspondence with several intimate friends. Among these were Dr. Asa Gray, the eminent American botanist, whose acquaintance he had made at Oxford; Mr. Manuel Johnson of the Observatory, Oxford; Mr. Frederick Rogers and Professor Mozley. In these letters will be found not only interesting reference to scientific questions, such as the distribution of species, cross fertilization, and astronomical observations, but discussion of great political and social events. It is remarkable how well balanced is his judgment on so many different subjects. Of the first Oxford University Commission he could say he was a well-wisher to many of the changes; but, remembering the cultivated thought that Oxford had turned out, he was nervous as to the result, which might be a revolution rather than a reform. Of Mozley's book on Baptismal Regeneration, which had disturbed the minds

[1] "Village Sermons" (Third Series), p. 337.

of many High Churchmen, he could write calmly in favour of not narrowing "the liberty of thinking." He was able to appreciate the just criticisms passed on "Essays and Reviews," which he described as "a reckless book, though in it were many good and true things." . . . "But," he says, "there has been a great deal of unwise panic, and unjust and hasty abuse, and people who have not an inkling of the difficulties which beset the questions, are for settling them in a summary way, which is perilous for every one; however, I hope the time of protest and condemnation is now passing away, and the time of examination and discussion in a quieter tone beginning."[1]

"ESSAYS AND REVIEWS."

In the opposition to the consecration of Bishop Temple, he thought there had been much exaggeration on the part of those who criticized his share in the publication of that book. But at the same time he thought that Dr. Temple might very well have given some explanation without any compromise of liberty. At any rate, his estimate of Bishop Temple as an energetic, high-souled and most religious Bishop, has been amply verified. The Vatican Council and the treatment of the party that opposed the definition of infallibility called forth his wonder at the internal condition of the Roman Church. "People there" (at Rome) he said, "have been talking rhetoric for ages beyond their real thought, and now that they are taken at their word, they are all in confusion." His view of national education was that Mr. Forster's Bill was meant to

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

EDUCATION.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 157.

be studiously impartial in its dealing with religious teaching. But the antagonism of the Nonconformists led them to throw themselves on the secular side, rather than let the Church get an advantage. The following statement is characteristic: "I should not be for an Established Church in a country like this if all was to begin *de novo*. But with our history, habits and conditions of life, what damages the Church, damages the best chances of simple unsectarian religion. It would be a long time before any system could grow up to take the place of our parish churches and superintendence in country places." [1]

POLITICS.

In politics he declared himself a Conservative by instinct and feeling, but was repelled by the negative and barren policy of the Conservative party. Gladstone appeared to him "very great and noble," but wanting in knowledge of men, and apt to speak rashly. Of great political events outside his own country, he expressed himself freely. The Chinese war of 1857 he declared to be a war "on false pretences," though he could not help allowing that the Chinese were "a very provoking people." The great struggle in America, which ended in the destruction of slavery, interested him greatly. During the terrible war between France and Germany in 1870, while he could see the corruption of the Empire, and the insolence of France bringing down retribution, yet he always admired the French nation as "too grand a race, with all their faults, to be missed out of the civilized world." [2] "Poor France," he said, my feelings go backwards and

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 189. [2] Ibid., p. 192.

forwards. How terribly appropriate is the chastisement for her awful offences. . . how piteous is the sight of a nation like France, so full of all that is kindly and good, fairly going to pieces." [1] But, on the other hand, he dreaded the growth of the military spirit in Germany, lest with all its complete and masterly display of great qualities, it should lead to the establishment of an unscrupulous audacity, like that of the Prussia of Frederick the Great. It may be thought that the carefully balanced statements, to which he gave expression on so many and so widely differing questions, might imply a lack of decision in framing a definite judgment. But one who knew him well has judged rightly of his manner of looking at things. "It was probably through this diversity of gifts and studies that he gained a peculiar breadth of thought in deliberation and in judgment. He saw things largely, with an ample and appreciative survey of their conditions; that which would especially appeal to the scholar or the man of science, neither displacing nor being displaced by the dominant interest of the historian. And, scanning thus the richness of the view, he was apt to take with him, in judging the affairs and cases of ordinary life, a broader volume of thought, a greater multitude of considerations, than most men bear in mind. He was less likely than most men to forget, in forming a judgment, something that should have been remembered; something that told upon the problem, and might help one towards precisely solving it. . . . Statesmanship has always been a rare quality among men, and it has so

FOREIGN EVENTS.

HIS POWERS OF JUDGMENT.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 194.

often and so disastrously been claimed or imagined, where it was not, that its very name is in some danger of discredit. But it is hard to find another word which would as well suggest the Dean's way of making up his mind, his broad range of thought, his prompt dismissal of all that was irrelevant or unimportant, his steady hand in balancing considerations and his just sense of proportion, his patient endurance and frank avowal of uncertainty, his strong refusal to be unjust even to his own side, his undismayed anticipation of great perils and unexcited contemplation of great aims, his quality of courage for self refraining, and for decisive action." [1]

It has been said that the great danger of the Tractarian party was the tendency to regard great questions from a narrow Anglican point of view; but his wide range of study, his knowledge and experience of foreign countries and their history, and his natural and acquired breadth of character, not only prevented Church from falling into that danger, but enabled him to educate largely the High Church party, in following him in his statesmanlike method of treating difficult problems.

ST. ANSELM.

The quiet years at Whatley were rich in literary study and work. Among these may be mentioned his interesting life of St. Anselm, originally published in 1853, in a volume entitled "Essays and Reviews," but enlarged and republished in 1870. It is an admirable specimen of his historical work. The history of the monastery of Bec, the constitution and the inner life of a Norman religious house, the greatness of Lanfranc, and the beauty of the character of Anselm

[1] "Life and Letters," pp. 14–16.

are delightfully described. He does full justice to the ecclesiastical administration of William, and his impartial choice of worthy men, irrespective of all prejudice of family and nation. "While the Conqueror lived," he said, "there was government in the State and the Church ; there was a strong love of order, the purpose of improvement, the sense of the value of law, the hatred of anarchy and misrule, and the firm mind to put them down." [1] When the Red King succeeded, all was changed, all was brutality and misrule, kingdoms and states were treated "as a wicked landlord treated his tenants." [2] Anselm, against his will made Archbishop of Canterbury, had to fight the battle "of law against tyranny, of reason against self-will, of faith in right, against worldliness and brute force." [3]

It is characteristic of Church's great fairness to judge Anselm in his appeal to Rome, not in any narrow Anglican spirit, but from the point of view of the necessities of the time. "We see, perhaps in what he did, an appeal against his king, against the constitution of England and the independent rights of the nation, to a foreign power. If we see with the eyes of his own age, we shall see the only appeal practicable then from arbitrary rule to law." [4] How true is his contention that the attempt to erect the papal throne as a tribunal of truth and justice may have proved "the grandest and most magnificent failure in human history. But it had not yet been proved to be a failure." [5] This is the

[1] "St. Anselm," p. 141.
[2] Ibid., p. 165.
[3] Ibid., p. 223.
[4] Ibid., p. 225.
[5] Ibid., p. 253.

very view he had expressed as early as 1844 in a letter to Archdeacon Manning, when he recorded his appreciation of the great good attempted, and sometimes achieved, through the papal supremacy. He drew an interesting parallel between the deathbed of Anselm and Richard Hooker, and the true place of the former in the history of the Church is well described: "I have mentioned that the last Abbot of Bec was M. de Talleyrand. The Pope who formally canonized St. Anselm is said to have been Alexander VI., Roderic Borgia. In the visible Church the evil are ever mingled with the good . . ." "But a very different judge had already interpreted the opinion of Christendom about Anselm. Before he had suffered the indignity of canonization at the hands of Borgia, Dante had consecrated his memory and assigned him a place with those whom the Church honoured as her Saints. The great singer of Christian Europe, in his vision of Paradise, sees him among the spirits of light and power, in the sphere of the sun—the special 'ministers of God's gifts of reason'—among those whom the Middle Age reverenced as having shown to it what the human intellect, quickened by the love of God, could do, in the humblest tasks and sacrifices and in the highest flights, with prophets, historians, and philosophers; with theologians and jurists; with the glories of the great Orders—St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure, and with their lowly firstfruits."[1]

Other publications of this period of his life were the first book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, with an introductory essay, and a volume of University Sermons;

[1] "St. Anselm," pp. 301, 302.

but this limited reference to his works gives scarcely any adequate idea of the literary fulness and diligent study of the quiet life at Whatley, which was soon to be broken up by the great change of his appointment to the Deanery of St. Paul's.

V.

A GREAT CHANGE.

It is interesting to notice other similar changes that took place about this time. Two of his Oriel friends were brought out of comparative retirement like his own into important spheres of influence—Fraser was sent from Alton to rule the huge diocese of Manchester; and James Mozley to the Regius Professorship of Theology at Oxford, to which he was to add new honours by his remarkable lectures and sermons. These three instances of great minds, trained in quiet retirement and study for future years of influence and labour, are by no means singular in the history of the Church. It is sometimes objected that the Anglican system of patronage often leaves men of great talents to live out their lives in obscure parishes, among uncongenial surroundings and unappreciative people. But not seldom the isolation and the retirement bring with them valuable opportunities for self-culture. This was certainly the case with Church, who used the time thus given him in the training of his powers, and the accumulation of ever-increasing stores of knowledge. The country life, which at first seemed dreary and trying, as the years went by,

brought with it many charms. He always felt the distance from London as a hindrance to hearing and seeing persons and things that might interest and help him. But there was no element of discontent in his acquiescence in so long a period of separation from the active and busy life of a University or city, and he never grasped at any proffered opportunity of changing his sphere of work. The offer of a Canonry at Worcester, by Mr. Gladstone, though in many respects pleasing and inviting, was declined with much regret, not for the Canonry which he refused, but because it might appear ungracious towards Mr. Gladstone. His real motives were a dread of appearing as "a lucky High Churchman" rewarded for taking the side of Irish Disestablishment, and, what was still higher, the resolve not to accept greater responsibility than he felt competent to deal with. When the offer of the Deanery of St. Paul's came to him, he hesitated long, and not until "Gladstone would not let him off," and friends from all sides pressed him to accept, did he yield.

When the time came for him to leave Whatley, the sense of what he was parting from was keenly painful. He said plainly, "I have made a great mistake in changing this peaceful life . . . for that tangle and whirlpool of ecclesiastical politics." [1]

Now, with all their force, he realized the blessings of that country life—"Sun and air, green fields and flowers," home in a lovely spot, a centre of "deep and growing affection." [2] And in front of him, London —with its gloomy atmosphere, the Deanery like a

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 202. [2] Ibid.

prison shut in with high walls, weary official work, busy administration, reform of abuses—it was with such sinkings of heart, and much self-depreciation, that he looked forward to the great task laid upon him.

Perhaps for the very reason that he felt so keenly the difficulties of his new position, he was able to meet its crushing responsibility and constant demands with ever-increasing wisdom and faithful, patient courage.

FAREWELL TO THE COUNTRY.

He expressed tenderly, with a pathos that rivals the famous Littlemore Sermon by Newman on "The Parting of Friends," the deep sorrow that he felt at parting from his parishioners, in a farewell sermon. He preached from 1 Cor. vii. 29, 31, and dwelt on the many striking events that had passed during the nineteen years of his incumbency—the wars, like those of the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny, that had touched them closely, even in that quiet spot; the great wars of Europe and America, and the help given by labouring people to the sick and wounded. He spoke of all that had passed in the perfect quiet of their village, the festivals, the services, the happy meetings, the death-beds. He gave thanks for the unbroken peace and happiness of his own home, and of the joy it had been to him to see the Church restored. He spoke humbly of the shortcomings of his own ministry; he besought them with his last words to begin once more a better life in prayer, church-going, and Communion. He commended his successor to their love and charity; he asked their forgiveness for any cause of offence given by him, as solemnly as if he were on his death-bed; he invited them to lay aside all differences and misunder-

standings, and be united. And these were his closing words:"[1] And now the end is come. We shall go home to our firesides, never more to meet as we have met this afternoon, as we have met well-nigh every Sunday afternoon for nearly nineteen years. And is not the time short? Have we, indeed, brought 'our years to an end as it were a tale that is told'? It has passed as the days will again pass between this and our last day in this life. Man goeth forth to his work and to his labour until the evening; and the evening, the last evening, is here. O kind and loving friends, O warm-hearted and attached neighbours, O loyal, affectionate hearts, we must be together no more. You have been to me what no other people have ever been to me, what I cannot hope that any others ever will be. There is but one place where again we can be together, and that is not on this side the grave. Here we part for good. Oh, my dear friends, let us look on to that other meeting, and being together! Let us wait and help one another, and remember one another till that meeting comes; it will not be long coming. How shall I bid you farewell? May we not take the words in which the great Apostle bade farewell to those whom he loved? Can I wish you better than he wished in to-day's Epistles: 'For this cause we . . . do not cease to pray for you, and to desire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of His will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; that ye might walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God'?

[1] "Village Sermons," xxii.

"May I not end with this earnest adjuration: 'Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you. And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the Word of His grace, which is able to build you up and to give you an inheritance among all of them which are sanctified.'"

ST. PAUL'S.

The great task he had to undertake was "to set St. Paul's in order as the great English Cathedral before the eyes of the country."[1] Those only who are old enough to remember the aspect of the great building and the character of its services, up to the middle of the present century, and to compare them with their present condition, can realize how great the transformation has been. It must, of course, be remembered that Dean Milman had done something to remove the reproach of the neglected condition of St. Paul's, and that Dean Mansel in his short tenure of office had made many plans and preparations in view of a complete reformation. But it was left mainly to Dean Church to carry out successfully that work which has made St. Paul's so great a centre of Church life in London, and so splendid a model of what a cathedral can be and do. He was happy in having such colleagues as Liddon, Gregory, Lightfoot, and afterwards Scott Holland. Any one who understands what is meant by the united action of a Dean and Chapter, inspired by the same zeal for cathedral work, love for their Church and its services, clear apprehension of the immense value of the cathedral

REFORM.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 200.

system when worked loyally and efficiently, will see how great an opportunity was placed in Church's hands. Nothing can be more disastrous to the success of a cathedral than the filling up of its Chapter with men who have little in common, and who have no special qualifications for capitular work, and no real love for cathedral institutions. The Canons of St. Paul's under Dean Church were admirable friends and coadjutors. Powers of oratory, business capacity, theological attainments, were contributed by them each according to his measure, and all lent their united aid to place things on a worthy footing.

THE CHAPTER.

The condition of the choir was far from satisfactory. There were many old abuses to be dealt with, the music was far from adequate, the whole tone of the services sadly lacking in devotion and reverence. If he was happy in being surrounded by a body of Canons, so remarkable for their great gifts, he was also singularly fortunate in having as organist, Dr. Stainer, and as Master of the Choristers, the Rev. A. Barff; the value he placed on the great and successful services of the latter is expressed in his dedication to him of his Advent Sermons in the following words: "Who by his faithfulness and wisdom has made the choristers' work a religious service." Stainer's transformation of a slovenly performance and perfunctory rendering of thinly attended daily services and unimpressive Sunday worship, into a magnificent type of a great musical act of homage offered to the Almighty, besides attracting large and devout congregations, demands a separate record. It is sufficient to say that

THE CHOIR.

the choral services of St. Paul's, and especially the choral Eucharist, have been pronounced by great musicians to be almost without rivals in Europe.

Those who knew St. Paul's sixty years ago, could never have looked forward to the time when, "in addition to the eighteen professional gentlemen who form the men's voice part of the regular cathedral choir, there is a body of volunteers who sing at 7 p.m. Evensong on Sundays, and are known as the Evening Service Choir. There is also another Voluntary Special Service Choir, numbering some three hundred, who take part in those services when an augmented choir is needed."[1] They would never have dreamed of the great orchestral rendering of Bach's Passion Music in Holy Week and Mendelssohn's "St. Paul" at the Patronal Festival, and Spohr's "Last Judgment" in Advent. Equally would the list of musical works now used throughout the year, which is annually augmented by fresh additions from the compositions of the best composers, Foreign and English, surpass all their experience. In this list it will be found that the names of early English writers of Church music—Purcell, Tallis, Boyce, Green, Blow, Croft—retain their due place; that Mozart, Bach, Handel, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Gounod, Spohr, Dvořák, contribute their best works in company with Sterndale Bennett, Ouseley, Wesley, Barnby, Goss, Hopkins, Tours and Stainer.

In connection with the many developments in the

[1] For this and other details I am indebted to the interesting Report for 1898, issued by the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, Succentor.

practical purposes to which the great cathedral was put may be mentioned not only the re-arrangement of the organ and screen, but the throwing open of the dome and nave for great congregations, the constant use of one chapel for the daily Eucharist, and of another for special services; the establishment of lectures in the Chapter House, and mid-day services for busy people; of the Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday, and all those manifold adaptations of old things to modern needs, and new importations of fresh methods, which are now taken for granted as part of the work of every great cathedral throughout England.

THE FABRIC AND SERVICES.

It would be impossible adequately to give any statement of all the special services held for great societies and on other occasions. There are great choral services for Gregorian and Anglican associations; festivals for the great missionary societies, the G.F.S., the C.E.T.S., Medical Guilds, Lay Helpers' Sunday School Institutes, Army Guilds. The Deaf and Dumb have their special celebration of the Holy Communion, and the Bands of Hope their anniversary; the Freemasons are not left out, and Post Office workers have their quiet day; and the Welshmen have their Service on St. David's Day, or near it. There are retreats and quiet days for clergy and laymen, and the Church Training Colleges are gathered to a great service; and even in the heart of London, far away from green fields and the sight of reapers among the corn, under the smoke-laden atmosphere that begrimes the great cathedral, the "Harvest Home" is not forgotten.

Preachers from all parts of England, the United States, and the Colonies occupy the pulpit on Sunday evenings; and many a man who has been invited to do so, has been proud and glad to accept the summons without being too much alarmed at the risk of meeting the experience so quaintly indicated by one who was not likely to have undergone it himself, the late Canon H. W. Burrows, who said to some one perhaps a little too elated at the prospect, "Well, the Dean's verger will show you the way to the pulpit, and, as you go, you will see the greater part of the congregation leaving the cathedral."[1]

THE POSITION OF THE GREAT CATHEDRAL IN THE CHURCH.

And so St. Paul's became, and is still becoming more and more, first to London and its diocese, and then to the whole country, the Colonies, and the United States, a great rallying-place of Churchmen; a true Mother Church embracing and welcoming all the sons and daughters of the Anglican Communion, bidding them enter her doors and take their places for prayer and praise, private and public, choral office, Eucharist and intercession, without being hindered and hampered and worried by harassing restrictions and troublesome regulations.

What the Dean's share was in all this let one who knew well relate: "It is impossible to single out points in which the Dean's initiative can be directly detected. Indeed, a marked initiative would not be in his manner. He would not formulate proposals nor frame a policy. That would be wholly unlike him. Rather within the Chapter, as without, in his relations to the Church at

[1] "Life of H. W. Burrows," p. 178.

large, he stood as a judicial conscience, up to the standard of which all must be brought. If it was a matter of liturgical or devotional rule, Liddon would be set to frame a scheme; if it was a bit of financial or administrative business, Gregory would make his proposal. But, always, there was a judgment to face, which would be anticipated by each as they worked at this task. Every plan must be such as would satisfy the sensitive and delicate estimate of right or wrong, which was so pre-eminently characteristic of the Dean."[1]

The story is told that when asked once what was the secret of the great success at St. Paul's, the Dean said, after a minute's pause, "We try to be punctual." How much did that mean in so busy a centre as the heart of London! What an admirable principle for the guidance of all who are responsible for the arrangement of Church services!

VI.

Besides the great improvement in the services, which attracted immense numbers, and inspired and helped multitudes in London and strangers from all parts of the world, much had to be done in placing the finances of the cathedral on a satisfactory basis. Canon Gregory had already impressed the Ecclesiastical Commissioners with the necessity of large and liberal revenues, and during the first years of Church's office the new scheme was started. The

FINANCE.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 220.

whole staff of officials and each department of the cathedral underwent a thorough reformation. Then again, the internal decoration of the building with all its many difficulties, not even at the present day finally solved, demanded much care and attention. All these things were harmoniously thought out and acted upon by the Chapter, and his approval or the reverse was the most important element in maturing any plan or fixing any decision. This great talent of judgment was by no means confined to the work of the Chapter. It was looked up to by a great number of persons, who more and more began to realize what a power for wise decision resided in a personality so apparently shy and timid. "What does the Dean say?" was a question often asked in those days, whether the difficulty of the moment was concerned with a crisis in politics, or a controversy concerning doctrine or ritual, or on the character of a man or the tendency of a book. Great men consulted him, notably Mr. Gladstone, who, it is said, would have been well content to see him occupying St. Augustine's throne.

THE DEAN AS AN ADVISER.

He had a dislike to putting his name to declarations on doctrine, and so declined an invitation of Dr. Pusey's to sign one on the subject of Confession and Absolution. He had no personal liking for elaborate ceremonial. He said once, "What we want is to frighten Ritualists out of self-will and extravagance, and the people in power from worrying the Ritualists."[1] But, as early as 1856, he wrote about the Knightsbridge Ritual Case, "It is this

RITUALISM.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 260.

determination in courts of justice to find a meaning and a direction where there is none, and to close questions which at least are open ones, that is enough to drive fair and quiet men into savage thoughts and feelings."[1] In 1874, after the introduction of the Public Worship Regulation Act, he expressed his intention of signing the declaration in favour of the Eastward Position and a distinctive Eucharistic dress, though, as regards the vestments, he says, "For myself, I should feel very uncomfortable if I had to wear them." After the Act was passed, he expressed his opinion very strongly against any narrowing of "the principle of an intelligent appropriate expressive outward form or shape of worship within the lines of the Prayer-book fairly interpreted." Sometimes he was asked to write letters explaining important points of doctrine, and there are two letters of his on original sin, which are so important as to find a place in Prebendary Gibson's Commentary on the Thirty-nine Articles. The painful affairs of the imprisonment of Mr. Tooth and the Folkestone ritual case affected him gravely. Such things appeared to him as tending through a policy of coercion towards disestablishment. "Of this," he said, "that it may be averted by any sacrifice except of justice and honour, I pray day and night."[2] And yet all these grievous troubles never damped his enthusiasm or destroyed his sanguine hopes for the future of the English Church. He could speak thus to Dr. Benson, first Bishop of Truro, after his consecration: "I hope you may be permitted to add in Cornwall another to the

FAITH IN THE CHURCH.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 158. [2] Ibid., p 256.

many victories which the revived English Church has achieved, and which, in spite of disasters and many troubles, make it the most glorious Church in Christendom."[1] And again he wrote in the same strain to the warden of Keble: "There is no more glorious Church in Christendom than this inconsistent English Church, nor one that has shown such wonderful proof of Christian life."[2]

Sometimes the difficulties of the time made him think that the resignation of his office might show the world that he had no thought of inconsistency and weak compliance with unjust decisions. But, on the other hand, he did not wish to do anything to shake confidence in the English Church, and so he remained at his post. Later on, other ritual cases and imprisonments caused him to pay attention once more to the great needs of the Church, especially in the region of courts of appeal. He was inclined to leave the Privy Council, as a purely secular court, to decide Church causes in temporalities, and to have a spiritual court of appeal of Bishops to deal with doctrine and discipline. One thing he made quite clear, and he wrote to the *Times* to that effect, that neither he nor any true Churchman could assent to "the proposition that an Established Church is what Parliament makes it or allows it to be, and nothing more," and it was a great relief to him when, in 1881, he found the Primate attending to certain reasonable communications from himself and Mr. Carter of Clewer.

THE COURT OF APPEAL.

More than once Church was appointed Select Preacher

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 257. [2] Ibid., p. 258.

at Oxford, and the volume entitled "Cathedral and University Sermons" can only now be named with the simple statement that they are serious, sympathetic, and practical, full of tender appeals based upon solid dogma. As a preacher there was nothing outwardly to attract in "the short stature, small spare figure," and the not very powerful utterance. But "the upward look, the quiet reading of the text, and the discourse that followed, subdued the congregation into breathless attention by the wonderful spiritual power of the man."[1]

HIS SERMONS.

Among his sermons should be noted those on Pascal, Bishop Butler, Bishop Andrewes, and in the same volume a very characteristic one on foreign travel preached in St. James's, Piccadilly, as part of a course on "The Use and Abuse of the World." He proposed the two questions, "What ought foreign travel to do for us?" "What ought we to do, that its opportunities may not be thrown away?" In answer to the first question, he said, "Change of scene, of object, is a remedy to the sick mind and body." Refreshment, education, enlargement of ideas, and above all, new thoughts of the greatness of God, His purposes, His thoughts come to us, by such change. Secondly, he dwelt on the dangers of foreign travel, frivolity, carelessness: "Lazy, unintelligent travelling is like lazy reading;" and, again, he called attention to the risk of forming hasty judgments on foreign nations, their habits, and, above all, their religion; and finally, the peril of throwing off accustomed restraints, and neglecting religious

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 304.

habits while abroad. "No place more befitting the seriousness of self-judgment and penitence than when we are alone in the solitude of the sea or the desert; no place where the mingled greatness and littleness of man, and the love and righteousness of God, prompt more naturally the great strains of the *Te Deum*, than in concert with the roar of mighty torrents, or when morning breaks over the silence of the everlasting hills."

"GIFTS OF CIVILIZATION."

Perhaps no other literary production of Dean Church gives so good an idea, not only of the richness of his historic knowledge, and the acuteness of his critical insight, but the breadth of his intellectual and spiritual view of things, as the remarkable sermons preached at Oxford, in the years 1866–68, on "The Gifts of Civilization." As a sequel to these, and published in the same volume, five lectures were delivered at St. Paul's in the year 1872 and 1873, on "Civilization before and after Christianity," and "Some Influences of Christianity on National Character." A mere brief notice of this, perhaps the most important work that he has left behind, must suffice. He recognized civilization as a Divine gift as real as the "sun and air and rain" in its power of doing good. "Civilization and religion have each their own order, and move in their own path." The latter may influence more or less the former, but they are not identical. Civilization brings liberty and peace, and strength of social countenance to what is right. Christianity has been brought in not to make us despise or even dread the gifts of civilization, but to help us to look for something more beyond, while we understand and value and use the

great endowments of this present life. "We are sinners who have been saved by a God Who loved us; there is a religion which is our hope beyond this time, and the incommunicable character of it is love." He drew a powerful contrast between the religion of the Sermon on the Mount and Christianity as it now is in society. But he did not draw the inference from this contrast that "the history of Christian society was a history of a great evasion." While allowing for failures and shortcomings from the high standard of the primitive days, he showed that the mission of the Church was not to remain outside of and apart from society, but to absorb it and act on it in endless ways. The gracious presence of Christ has been felt where it could least be expected. "Even war and riches, even the Babel life of our great cities, even the high places of ambition and earthly honour, have been touched by His Spirit—have found how to be Christian. Shadows as they are, compared with the ages that are before us, and tainted with evil, we believe that they have felt the hand of the great Healer, to Whom power is given over all flesh; all power in Heaven and on earth." [1]

The great power in the Christian Church to enable it thus to affect society around it, is "character," and the example of what character is, is to be found in our Lord: "He does what is most human, but He lives absolutely in the Divine." His life is the pattern of faith, and truth and love. The Church has constantly been striving after this standard; "an age of intellectual confusion" saw, in the Christ of the Gospels, the ideal of

[1] "Gifts of Civilization," p. 48.

the great teacher and prophet and healer of human error. The monastic spirit saw in it a vocation to a life of poverty as the condition of perfection. The Reformation saw in Him the breaker-up of formalism and the quickener of the dead letter. In modern times men dwell most upon His perfect manhood, so great and true and just. None of these give more than a partial side of this ideal and perfect character. Every age looks forward to its children becoming greater and better still, through their apprehension of this example. And so he called upon his hearers, while guarding against that wrong view of civilization which thinks that society has outgrown Christianity and can dispense with it, to realize how noble a thing civilization is; the more it extends and develops, the more demand there is for the Church to exercise her influence and to consecrate society in all its "intellectual, moral and civil perfection." Civilization may appear at times to be advancing in lines hostile to the Church, and threatening the foundations of the Christian faith, but this apparent danger ought not to cause despondency. One thing is needful, that every separate member of the Church has to realize his or her office in supplying the salt and the light and the leaven—"There are reasons for looking forward to the future with solemn awe. No doubt signs are about us which mean something which we dare scarcely breathe. The centre of gravity, so to speak, of religious questions, has become altogether shifted and displaced. Anchors are lifting everywhere, and men are committing themselves to what they may meet with on the sea. But awe is neither despair nor fear; and Christians have

had bad days before. *Passi graviora.* A faith which has come out alive from the darkness of the tenth century, the immeasurable corruption of the fifteenth, the religious policy of the sixteenth, and the philosophy, commenting on the morals, of the eighteenth, may face without shrinking even the subtler perils of our own. Only let us bear in mind that it is not an abstraction, a system or an idea, which has to face them; it is we who believe. The influence of the Church on society means, in its ultimate shape, the influence of those who compose it. The Christian Church is to be the salt of the nation if Christians are true to their belief and equal to their claim; nothing can make it so, nothing can secure that what has been, shall be, if they are not."[1]

HIS BREADTH OF VIEW.

No one can read these remarkable sermons and the essays which accompany them, without becoming convinced that Church was quite emancipated from any narrow ecclesiasticism, that he had no dread of scientific inquiry, no distrust of human society as a whole; that he had a calm belief in the overruling providence of God in nature, in mankind as well as in the Holy Catholic Church. It was by no means the case that he did not distinguish between the great supernatural powers of the Kingdom of God, and the progress and development of human society, but he looked forward with a kind of sanguine optimism to the transformation and consecration of the latter, by the gradual extension of the Divine graces of the former. It has been said with truth that the Churchmanship of the Dean of St. Paul's was not only wider but truer than

[1] "Gifts of Civilization," pp. 118, 119.

that of Newman. It certainly was more human and sympathetic.

He never attempted to deal definitely with the teaching of the advancing school of Biblical criticism. But he certainly was not unmindful of the seriousness of the question. He more than once declared that England and the English Church were singularly unprepared for meeting the new theories; but he was always calm in his own mind on the subject, and recommended calmness in others. He drew "a contrast between the certainties of physical science, and the contradictory and uncertain results, the barrenness as a whole, of criticism." He advised courage and honesty, but also patience, which is essential to a real love of truth. It was not dishonest to feel that there are some questions which had better be left alone, some which will never be answered on this side of the grave, and perhaps not on the other. It was part of his large-hearted, broad-minded character that, while belonging to an older generation, he still did not hold himself aloof from those who had advanced on to new and perhaps perilous grounds, and probably by his sympathy and wisdom he was able to guard and correct some exaggerations and impetuosities.

BIBLE CRITICISM.

Many of his works can only be briefly mentioned. Essays on "Bacon" and "Spenser;" a charming account of Brittany, based upon reminiscences of a tour he made there; "The Rise of the Early Ottomans," are specimens of widely differing subjects that illustrate the versatility of his literary powers. His style has been often spoken of as possessing the scholarly

ESSAYS.

finish of the best educated English in all ages. He was once asked how style could be studied and formed. He said he did not recognize in himself any special training for style. "The great thing in writing is to know and feel what you want to say, and to say it in words that come as near to your meaning as you can get them to come." He quoted the saying, "Always cut out a passage which you are most proud of." He attributed great value to careful reading of good English in the best writers. And it is very characteristic and touching to note that he said, "Besides these, I heard and read a good deal of Mr. Newman's preaching, and it is, I am sure, to him that I owe it that I can write at all simply, and with the wish to be real."[1]

STYLE.

VII.

IT was not only in his writing that he possessed so great a charm, but in his conversation at home and in society. He had a very keen and delicate sense of humour, and yet maintained perfect dignity without the loss of simplicity and ease. "Austerity and sympathy" have been described as two great notes in his character, and he was able, as Canon Scott Holland has said, to be in favour with all men, and yet never to swerve from the line of duty, and never to submit to the taint of compromise.

HIS CHARACTER.

Of his kindness and courtesy many stories are told,

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 326.

and one is particularly characteristic of the man. One Good Friday, on leaving the cathedral, he saw a party of Italian emigrants standing on the western steps. They had been unable to visit the whole of the cathedral on account of the Good Friday services. The Dean spoke to them in their own tongue, and found that one of them came from a valley well-known to him. They were all delighted by his kindness, and were enabled the next day to see the whole of the cathedral from crypt to dome, accompanied by a member of the choir who spoke Italian.

Though not gifted with great vocal powers for preaching, his reading was always a treat to those who heard him, whether it was one of Scott's novels, or a poem of Tennyson, in his drawing-room at Whatley in the evening, or his clear and impressive reading of the lessons in St. Paul's, at the great special services, when his perfect pronunciation and intonation made him easily heard. PERSONALITY.

He was an untiring and industrious student, and never dropped any of his early studies. Homer and Virgil, Sophocles and Lucretius, were never put away on his shelves after Oxford days. But he was also an indefatigable correspondent, and wrote from abroad delightfully fresh accounts of the places he visited. His visit to Rome, in 1882, was late in life, and it is remarkable to note the effect of the great city upon his mind. His feeling was "one almost of hatred for the place—a mixture of all incompatible things, ruins and magnificence, waste and civilization, tumble-down squalidness and untidiness, and stateliness and grandeur

such as one has never see elsewhere, and an anti-religious world, and an ostentatiously religious world, really as worldly, and also an undeniably magnificent organization of high religion quite unique.[1] Of Florence he wrote: "It is certainly most beautiful; I suppose the harmony of everything, the characteristic buildings, the river, the hills round about, and the unconscious association with all the wonderful works of art and beauty in it, gave it this, to me, unique character."[2] But foreign travel never diminished his keen appreciation of England and the English.

FRIENDS.

He maintained delightful friendships with all sorts of people. Dr. Asa Gray, whose scientific knowledge was for many years a source of refreshment and interest; Dean Stanley, with whom he differed greatly, but whom he valued and admired, and whose death, in 1881, caused him a great shock; Lord Blachford; the Warden of Keble (Dr. Talbot), and many others, were among his correspondents. The later years of his life were greatly overshadowed by losses of friends—Dr. Asa Gray, Lord Blachford, Cardinal Newman. His friendship with the latter, which had been broken off when the sad secession of 1845 took place, was renewed once more in 1866, and continued to the end. They met occasionally, and corresponded from time to time, the Dean going as a guest to Edgbaston, and the Cardinal visiting the Deanery. Very soon after Newman's death came the sudden blow of the loss of Dr. Liddon, and this seemed to be the final stroke in breaking down the Dean's own

BEREAVEMENTS.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 295. [2] Ibid., p. 299.

strength. At the funeral of Dr. Liddon his voice was heard for the last time in the great cathedral when he committed the body of his valued friend to the grave. But that which had crushed him most was the loss of his only son, a bright and scholarly young man, full of all the classical and cultured tastes of his father, and who had already shown not a little literary skill, likely hereafter to have developed into something remarkable. He passed away peacefully at Hyères in January, 1888.

One of the latest of his works is that which will perhaps hand down his memory as much as any other, and that is the "History of the Oxford Movement." It is, of course, but a fragment, for it deals only with twelve years, from 1833–45. But he told the story that he knew best, and left it for others to complete; indeed, as he said, he scarcely had the heart to write more of it himself. But the book describes most graphically, and in perfect good taste and charity, the striking figures, the ebb and flow of controversy, the successes and failures of perhaps the most remarkable epoch in the whole of the modern history of the Church. His own final estimate of the outcome of the Movement is perhaps best described in the following passage: "It was the resolute and serious appeal from brilliant logic, and keen sarcasm, and pathetic, impressive eloquence, to reality and experience, as well as to history, as to the positive and substantial characteristics of the traditional and actually existing English Church, shown not on paper, but in work, and in spite of contradictory appearances and inconsistent elements; and along with this, an attempt to put in a

fair and just light the comparative excellences and defects of other parts of Christendom—excellences to be ungrudgingly admitted, but not to be allowed to bar the recognition of defects." [1]

LAST DAYS.

The death of his son caused him to live greatly in retirement, and it was only occasionally that he was drawn out into public view. One occasion was a Conference of representatives of the High Church and Low Church parties, with special reference to the prosecution of the Bishop of Lincoln, and almost the last event of importance that occurred in those last days was the delivery of Archbishop Benson's judgment on the case. Of the decision he said, "It is the most courageous thing that has come from Lambeth for the last two hundred years." [2]

DEATH AND FUNERAL.

On December 9, 1890, he passed away quietly. By his own wish, his body was laid to rest in Whatley churchyard, close to the south side of the chancel wall. But, previously, funeral services took place in St. Paul's Cathedral, with celebration of the Holy Communion early, and full musical rendering of the Burial Service at noon. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were present, and large numbers of friends and representatives of the clergy and laity. It was a happy thought that Newman's hymn, "Praise to the Holiest in the height," was sung at the close of the service. He was very anxious that no memorial either at St. Paul's or at Whatley should be erected to his memory. His son-in-law, Dean Paget, has brought out the secret of this and so many

[1] "Oxford Movement," p. 401. [2] "Life and Letters," p. 349.

other acts of self-effacement in his life in the restraining influence of "a constant recollection of something that was awful and even dreadful to him . . . he seemed to bear about with him a certain hidden, isolating, constraining and ennobling fear."[1] He dreaded unreal exaggeration of men's merits, and shrank from anything approaching to undue praise of himself. The following very remarkable words, which he wrote to Dean Paget not long before his death, reveal his thoughts on the subject: "I often have a kind of waking dream; up one road the image of a man decked and adorned as if for a triumph, carried up by rejoicing and exulting friends, who praise his goodness and achievements; and on the other road, turned back to back to it, there is the very man himself, in sordid and squalid apparel, surrounded not by friends, but by ministers of justice, and going on, while his friends are exulting, to his certain and perhaps awful judgment. That vision rises when I hear, not just and conscientious endeavours to make out a man's character, but when I hear the loose things that are said—often in kindness and love—of those beyond the grave."[2]

HIS HUMILITY.

It is quite in accordance with the feelings expressed in these words, that he desired that his grave at Whatley should be marked only with a stone similar to the one placed over that of his son at Hyères, and that the same inscription should be engraved upon it—the sombre, penitent, and loving prayer from the *Dies Iræ*—

[1] "Life and Letters," p. xxii.
[2] Ibid., p. xxiv.

"Rex tremendæ majestatis
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis.

"Quærens me sedisti lassus,
Redemisti crucem passus,
Tantus labor non sit cassus."

GENERAL ESTIMATE.

Such a life as that of Dean Church is a great encouragement and consolation to loyal sons of the Church of England. It serves to assure them that, in spite of apparent failures and shortcomings, in the midst of great entanglements from its connection with the State, though scarcely ever free from harassing controversy and strife of tongues, though many who claim membership in her ranks seem strangely to have failed in absorbing her true Catholic spirit, she has not yet lost the power of training great and noble children. She has not altogether failed to retain the allegiance of men of learning, culture, taste, and, above all, of Christian character in its noblest form. Dean Church commended the Church of England to men of intellect by his extraordinary thoroughness and depth of reading; he adorned the doctrine of Jesus Christ, of His Holy Church, by a beautiful life; he expounded the Catholic faith in writings of unrivalled purity of style; he could make the simple truths of Christianity intelligible to the peasants of Somerset, and the mysteries of the Kingdom of God more and more acceptable to the intellectual apprehension of the University students of Oxford, and the busy men of the world in London. The stamp of his influence will remain

for many a year on the capitular life and cathedral services of St. Paul's Cathedral; and the fearless courage of the Junior Proctor of 1845 will long be remembered as an inspiration for all who love justice and true liberty of thought, and are willing to face unpopularity rather than betray the truth. Having once learned from Newman and others at Oxford what is implied in the "Kingdom of God," he never faltered in a life-long witness in its behalf. Of this Kingdom he has said: "It is high spiritual interests that we have to guard, the highest that we can conceive among us—the faith, the spirit, the gifts, the life of what we believe to be Christ's Holy Catholic Church. This high idea of what we mean by the Church is not only the true one, not only the one really worthy the enthusiasm of Churchmen, but it is the safest and most powerful appeal to the thoughts of reasonable men. It was this that, in days of danger fifty years ago—the revival of the great idea of the Church, the extrication of it, in its religious and spiritual significance, from the earthly associations which had encumbered and obscured it—it was this which, in spite of great difficulties, great troubles, great disasters, staved off the dangers, and infused new life and elevation and strength into all our religion."[1]

HIS LOYALTY TO "THE KINGDOM OF GOD."

And then taking up the words of our Lord, "My Kingdom is not of this world," he spoke of the warnings they convey as to the temper and method of the Church's warfare. "And above all," he said, "they warn us against a temptation which has before now come in the

[1] "Advent Sermons," p. 82.

path of the Church, and may again—the temptation of paying too high a price to gain or to retain the advantages of this world. There are few among us with knowledge so large and thought so comprehensive as to be able to take in the full measure of the blessing of a Church like ours, which can speak to the nation as nothing else can, which holds such a machinery for good in its hands. But we may be asked to pay too highly for keeping what we so value. We may be asked to give up in exchange what we have no right to part with; to barter things that concern the life of the Church as a religious body; to turn the Church which we have received into something different; to consent to precipitate experiments and ill-considered compromises; to rush, under the alarm and perhaps danger of the moment, into projects of hasty change, in the hope of stopping a cry. Let us do our best; let us try to leave things better than we found them in the Church and in the world; let us 'quit us like men'—men of sense, men of courage, if we are forced into a struggle which must be a trying and a stern one; but let us remember, amid all its fortunes, Who has said, 'My Kingdom is not of this world.'" [1]

[1] "Advent Sermons," p. 86.

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